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A MAGAZINE FOR A DEMOCRACY OF CONTENT

23

VOL. 6

MAY-JUNE 1955

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Ernst Zander

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Subscription rates are 12s. (\$2.40) per year, or 8s. (\$1.60) for four issues.

Published by Contemporary Press, 26 Heber Road, London, N.W.2,  
545 Fifth Avenue, New York City, 17, N.Y., and P.O. Box 13,  
Johannesburg, as a two-monthly.

Ernst Zander

## THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST REMILITARIZATION IN GERMANY

A Letter and a Reply

### Editorial Note

**E**ARLY in 1951 the Allied victors of World War II, having successfully disarmed Germany and dispersed its military forces, openly reversed their course and undertook to form an army in that country once again. Against this rearmament proposal, there arose in Germany a vast movement of spontaneous protest. Manifold organizations, newly formed and old, multitudes of individuals and all kinds of publications presented an unbroken line of opposition. Intrinsic to this widespread opposition was the equally spontaneous demand for a plebiscite on the question. So powerful was this demand on the part of the populace and so decisively did a plebiscite threaten the envisaged militarization that Adenauer, at the behest of his American masters, was compelled to forbid a plebiscite under penalties for disobedience. From that time to this, a quiet war of attrition has been waged against the desires of the German people. It has involved ever greater numbers and spread, in one way or another, to almost every country of Europe.

From the years of struggle over a remilitarization which would turn the face of Europe from its real problems, solving them only by eliminating the solution, the heartening conclusion presents itself at this point: the masses and nations are not yet at the end of their resistance. Restricted, thus far in the conflict, to the parliamentary jousting ground, the elemental resistance has toppled one government after another in France. Even the Mendès-France régime can do no more than squeak through with a bare majority for the "Paris Agreements", on a vote of confidence at that, before it too collapses. The fall occurs over "Colonial Policy" than which there is surely none more heinously repressive. But this policy had already been endorsed several times by the French Assembly, thus leaving the clear understanding that its "accomplishment" served to undermine the Mendès-France government.

In Germany itself, the resistance to rearmament is so thoroughgoing and so widespread that the attempt is made to picture it to the rest of the world, America especially, as the unwelcome fruit of efforts to "re-educate" the German people away from "Prussianism". In this way is brought about the necessity to "re-re-educate" Germany to the value of a "good", "democratic" army. The effort is being greeted with appropriate cynicism and outright opposition. The Bonn government of marionette Adenauer feared even to bring the Paris Agreements before the Bundestag for final approval. It treads on eggshells lest the slightest opposition on other matters, added

to the general resistance against remilitarization, bring down the entire house of cards. On 20th January, *The New York Times* reported:

"At this juncture of events, when the Social Democratic and trade union leaders are conducting an energetic campaign against the Paris agreements to arm West Germany within the framework of NATO, the Cabinet ministers and coalition party leaders fear that the strike issue and the question of armament will fuse into one great general movement against the government and its policies."

The strike was averted but the "question of armament" remains. A youth meeting in Cologne, held to "re-re-educate", served only to rout the government propagandists and reinvigorate the sentiment against the army. Meetings called against the rearmament turn into demonstrations of a size not seen since Hitler. *U.S. News and World Report* quotes a Frankfurt newspaper: "Nowhere in Europe is the feeling against military service as strong as it is in Germany". It thus becomes increasingly unmistakable that Reichstag passage of rearmament, regardless of form, leaves unresolved the intense antipathy of the public to the entire conception. That they are unable to find an acid capable of dissolving this antipathy within the immediate future, presents to the engineers of remilitarization the prospect of their very "success" turning into ashes in their mouths. Says the magazine mentioned above:

"Some surprises may be in store for Allied defense planners who are accustomed to thinking of Germans as being among the best soldiers in the world." Surprises, perhaps, like the world-wide mutinies presented by the American armies to its General Staff at the end of World War II?

Against the military planners, the international resistance has developed a strategy of its own. First one, then another, nation steps to the forefront in the struggle. During the last elections which permitted Adenauer to remain in power, more than one German felt secure in the knowledge that the French would not allow Adenauer to rearm Germany. When the French find themselves temporarily at an impasse, support and new forces are brought forward by the Germans. When the Germans see the new army descending upon them as a *fait accompli*, the French stiffen and suddenly open a new path of opposition. Nor does the highly-touted fear of the French for the "century-old enemy", Germany, play a role in the joint opposition of the millions in both countries to any further militarization of Europe.

There is good foundation for the resistance going well beyond Germany and France. Information is already available to confirm the opinion that these "peace" plans for militarization will carry out the destruction and dislocation only too vividly remembered and still extant from the previous war plans. Says a report of 3rd February to *The New York Times*:

"The feasibility of importing Italian laborers to replace future German army conscripts will be discussed within the framework of trade negotiations in Rome this month."

Hence we may look forward to thousands of Italians "relocated" (of course, voluntarily) toward the Baltic while thousands of Germans stand guard (of course, against the Red Menace) in the Mediterranean.

It is just the cry of "Stalinism" which is the whip employed to scourge the resistance movement and blacken it in the eyes of its most ardent proponents. It is even utilized where the whole world knows the Stalinist organizations are so insignificant as to be non-existent, in England, not

naturally against the "loyal" Labour "left wing" which does its damndest to drown the resistance in the parliamentary swamp, but against any spontaneous popular expression of sentiment. The "Communist" organizations assist in this dirty work. For them the anti-remilitarization threatens the *existing militarization* in the Stalinist-ruled East Zone of Germany. Any interference with the movement consequently serves their purpose. The principal derailing mechanism is the attempt to swerve the movement to the problem of unifying Germany. The artfulness of raising this legitimate demand is that if remilitarization goes through, unification is pushed that much further off. The rearmament of Germany will seal, at least for a time, the division of Germany.

Four long years after the decision to recreate the German army had reached official admission and implementation, the American press, in its various ways, is compelled to acknowledge that "The next German army isn't going to spring into being overnight". The "difficulties" in the path of the plan, belatedly and grudgingly confessed, can no longer be hidden or camouflaged. The tortuous course of the blueprint for rearming Germany has proved the "wisdom" of its designers. If elements already exist which can so seriously delay, distort and impair the original conception for establishing a European army based on its German segment, all the more imperative must it appear, at the high levels of decision, to have available that one instrument indispensable for making any decision stand at the critical moments of history — force. It is this ineradicable reflection on the situation which compels the American ruling class (aspiring inheritors of England's world-monopoly), through its emerging Bonapartist, Eisenhower, constantly to raise up again its dead or dying plan, infuse new life into it, remold its physiognomy (e.g., from European Defense Community to Paris Agreements) and start it marching anew as mechanically as the army to be found at the end of its road.

In the midst of the public furore which greeted the announced intention to re-establish the army, we received a letter from a reader of our German publication, *Dinge der Zeit*. This reader, Frau A., proposed that we intervene in the struggle against remilitarization with a leaflet of our own, and suggested a number of points for public analysis. (See *Letter from Frau A. in Contemporary Issues*, No. 8, Spring 1951.) This excellent proposal was accepted and acted upon. We did, indeed, publish and circulate widely, outside of Germany also, a leaflet entitled "*Against the Remilitarization*". The response was prompt, enthusiastic and encouraging. People in Germany supplemented our meagre forces, reprinted the leaflet themselves and secured additional assistance in its distribution. Various publications quoted the leaflet in part or *in toto*.

Among the very first to respond was a Mrs. Roesler. Her letter was of such a nature as to present the opportunity for making a reply dealing *in extenso* with many problems intrinsic to the anti-remilitarization struggle. It also provided the means for elaborating the organizational and political conception upon which *Dinge der Zeit* and *Contemporary Issues* rest. Since the discussion is of considerable theoretical concern and since the issue itself continues to remain alive, we present below the translation of the letter from Mrs. Roesler and its reply. A proper picture of the scene at the time may be obtained from the numerous documents and letters which

came into our hands in the course of the campaign against rearmament. We culled the most vital of these for public presentation. Even so, this survey of letters, publications, individual statements, etc., plus our comment and criticism, required a book to encompass it, and reference is made to it in the text of the reply below. It is to be regretted that translation and printing in English cannot be accomplished just now. However we anticipate that future issues will provide the occasion for putting forward at least the most significant of these documents and commentaries.

February 10, 1955.

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Dear Mrs. Roesler,

Many thanks for your candid letter of the 13th July, 1951. What you have written is of great general interest and shall therefore be reproduced here in all essentials:

"Dear Sirs,

"I received your leaflets yesterday — with the most awful conscience! I again looked up the date your friendly letter to me bears. It was the 25th of May, and my reply to you which was never finished is dated the 1st of June. . . .

"Even now I can't allow myself time off to re-read your letter and mine. I can never claim to have studied and understood *Dinge der Zeit* to its deepest recess — there is too much paper one is continually required to digest. I trust you will not hold it against me but will give a hearing to any genuinely collaborative thoughts so far as they may be.

"I believe I should first put the cards on the table more openly. I believed, last summer, that I had perceived your Communist antipathy would divert you from important facts and lead you onto the path of remilitarization. From that moment I had no more time for you. In addition I had heard from my brother-in-law, Dr. P., the U.S. correspondent of —, in reply to my question about you, that you were disillusioned communists. Even though he is one himself, and this complex makes him also view some very important matters distortedly, yet he is quite furious with you. He does not want to be confounded with you in any way. According to him, you have only turned to me once more because you find no echo. This whole atmosphere tasted too much of a swamp for me to occupy myself further with it.

"Conversely, I hope that at no time did I conceal from you that from 1929 to 1945 I was a member of the KPD (Communist Party of Germany), and if I am not one today it is perhaps only because in 1945 I did not re-enter. But if you want to take me seriously at all, then take me as a Marxist. It is as such that I have to bring my contribution to present-day controversies. Not despite but just because of this, I have arrived at the position, between the two fronts, in which I stand today. Prior to the effectuation of the synthesis historically due, one must, for the time being, install oneself between two stools.

"In order to clarify my present attitude toward your endeavours it will suffice to report a conversation which took place this evening between my sister and me. She read aloud to me — I had given her your leaflet to decide whether it would be of any help to us and whether I ought to read it. She said, 'Were it not for this paragraph it would be good'. She meant the one about Stalinist devils. I laughed and said: 'If that is all! For my part they can condemn the Russians to the depths of hell. Nothing matters less to me as long as they are opposed to rearmament! On the contrary, that can *only* help us, because we can push it down the throat of all those who dismiss as Communist anything that is against remilitarization', — My sister has the better character, if she rejects such tones on principle. She is on the Peace Committee, and I would also be, had I not been kicked out last September because I permitted myself, all too arbitrarily, to invite M.L. of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (to which I belong) to come here — which does not alter the fact that I have personal contact with the most valuable Communists in this district. We work together with confidence and complete frankness. In order not to harden the Fronts, I must not give up this connection — everybody knows it. You can make whatever you want of this.

"As regards your purposes: I compliment you on combining massive hatred of the East with consistent rejection of remilitarization. That is a great human achievement.

"A formal tip: The polemical tone of the earlier style finds hardly a purchaser in Germany today. On the whole I agree with the reasons for this. You can with impunity be even much sharper in the objective fields, polemically something much more tame will not be taken.

"What is the purpose of your leaflet? To create the great platform of agreement and resistance to rearmament? What are you doing to that end? Contemporary Press, in the words of Dr. Ro., becomes interesting only if it understands how, and tries, to merge itself into something greater.

"*What concretely is to be done and by whom?* Whoever merely rejects remilitarization puts the Eastern as well as the Western militarists in the right. Communism can be defeated either by war or by revolutionary non-violence, by non-violent revolution. Everything else is sentimentality.

"I can no longer remember what I proposed to you at the time as a subject for discussion. But I am enclosing two things for you which will indicate my opinion of the only possible peaceful formation of power (now and in Western Germany). You will then see whether it pays for you to speak further. — Concrete proposals are to be made in the field of youth settlement work, but perhaps all that can hardly be taken seriously in England. . . .

"The reaction to the banning of the 'Stalinist' (you seem to know) plebiscite: Pastor Rudi Daur of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Stuttgart, who is on the green list\* spoke here yesterday. He said explicitly that this ban must be deplored and rejected. The Göttingen students did the same. More you will have learned in the meantime yourselves. But what should be of particular interest to you is that up to now apparently all

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\* Lists in Germany are official and unofficial institutions for discrimination, sometimes leading directly to the loss of employment.

who were indicted under this ban have been acquitted by the German courts and that this will probably not be changed as promptly as in 1933 by a totalitarian hint from above. Someone who ought to know told me the evening before last that the German intelligentsia and bourgeoisie (both seen purely ideologically) are today on the whole more open minded than the workers. These are symptoms which should be discussed further, if perhaps you were to come to Germany. What would you say to a meeting in Wuppertal in September? No money? Oh yes, a bicycle rides poorly over water!"

\*

This, dear Mrs. R., is your very interesting and lively letter, which gives us a welcome opportunity to deal with a whole set of questions in their proper context and, we hope, to clarify further the nature of our political and other activities. We orient ourselves in our work above all by content, by *what* is said, and only secondarily or perhaps not at all by *how* it is said and by *whom*. In accordance with this orientation we can assume on the one hand a completely human attitude, and on the other hand a completely objective one. In our practice, the equal right of all participants is nourished exclusively by interest in the human being himself, and not by interest in systems, institutions, etc.; the evaluation of men and things depends on their substance and not upon what they think of themselves or upon what is said of them. At first glance, strict objectivity could appear to stand in contradiction to the asserted deep human interest, but on closer examination they both show themselves to be identical. Let me clarify this by a few examples.

You wish us to take you as a "Marxist", if we are to take you at all seriously. We, however, find it right from the beginning inhuman, to take anyone seriously only because and only when he has stuck a trade mark on himself and transformed himself into a "thing". Quite the contrary, we have made clear to ourselves one of the greatest discoveries of Marx in its significance for human relationships under capitalism and we fight, in Marx's sense, every *fetishism*. Marx had very good reason for saying of himself: I am not a Marxist! Claims are abundant and in themselves they prove nothing. We pay no attention to the label, allow only the content to speak, and act according to the very simple principle of taking first of all everybody seriously as a living being.

A human being cannot be grasped (or taken "seriously") otherwise than in terms of his actions, speech, writings, loves, hates, etc., and wherever investigation into human activities is necessary or is provoked it should strive to perceive "what's the matter there". Concerning opinions, assertions, perceptions, etc., all that is in question is whether they are correct or false, deception or truth, adequate or inadequate, etc. Accordingly, whether they then belong in the category of Marxism, Catholicism, Kantianism, Stalinism, democracy, fascism, or any other "ism", will soon become obvious and is therefore of minor importance since, whether as Marxist, Catholic, Stalinist, etc., one can speak and act just as truthfully or falsely, adequately or inadequately, humanly or inhumanly as Marx, Stalin, or the Pope himself. In a word: The perfectly objective standpoint, which concentrates only on content, only on concrete human



activity, is also the perfectly human. And only from this standpoint, identical in itself, is consent or refusal, friendship or enmity, tolerance or intolerance decided, for it would be a great mistake to believe that objective humanity or human objectivity on the one hand, and on the other, passion, hatred, anger, irony, sharpness, etc., are mutually exclusive. The true human-objective standpoint encompasses all manifestations in their totality — it has nothing to do with the formal-mechanical "objectivity" which is only a pretext to permit the triumph of the inhumanly brutal side of social life as incarnated in regulations, statutes, state doctrines, institutions, law-books, dogmas, and other "objectivities".

Whoever detects sinister influences at work and does not fight them may be unscrupulous, cowardly, corrupt, cynical, or God knows what, but he has buried in himself his humanity and objectivity, for he takes into consideration only those relationships which suit the fetish of his own ego. You call the fact that we understand how to connect solid hatred of the East with consistent rejection of remilitarization a great human achievement. We thank you for your compliment, and return it with the statement that you have judged very objectively. But since our hatred of the East (or better: of Stalinism) has carefully weighed reasons, and since we do not allow ourselves to be blinded or driven in a wrong direction by these reasons — is not here again the human achievement equal to the objective one?

Conversely, take the example of your sister, who would consider our leaflet to be good only if we had not attacked the Stalinists. However exemplary the behaviour of your sister may otherwise be (we do not here discuss purely personal matters) — in this connection she has failed objectively as well as humanly. To you and not your sister belongs here the "better character", because you laugh about this point which is not relevant to the question, do not deny us freedom of opinion, and recognize: "that can *only* help us, because we can push it down the throat of all those who dismiss as Communist anything that is against remilitarization".

The Stalinists claim for themselves every liberty and allow others nothing. They consider it quite in order to accuse the "democracies", and to insult any "dissenters" whatever in the most disgusting, that is, completely *unfounded*, fashion — but woe to those who draw their attention to their own doings and machinations. Then you can hear "tones" like the one in *Fraternité* (21/2/1946) from the mouth of Mr. Pierre Hervé, who, for his part, is also a collaborator of *Humanité*, a paper which is in every respect a public danger: "Is it sacrilege to ask why 80 per cent or more of all Trotskyist agitators are Jews?"

I have selected this "tone" from among a million other no less abominable ones for in it one hears with crystal clarity the naked vileness which is usually ascribed only to the Nazis, but which is so characteristic a feature of Stalinist fascism. For it all turns on the fact that the instigator, typical representative, and systematizer of the above art of "tone" (or rather, "manner of argumentation") is furnished by that "sun of the peoples" which, in contradistinction to the "ordinary" sun observed by non-Stalinists, knows how to shine in a most annihilating fashion on the "cosmopolitan Jews" even in Moscow itself. If you, dear Mrs. R., are really a Marxist, it should not be difficult for you to understand that a



régime which is in any sense progressive (let alone socialist) stands open to free criticism and knows how to defend itself against unjust criticism with good arguments and even better deeds, in the process of which the real evildoer can, to one's heart's content, be branded for what he is. Stalinism, however, both inwardly and outwardly represents something deeply reactionary, totally inhuman, and absolutely ominous, namely the economic and human enslavement which flows from capitalist self-destruction. The economic and intellectual barbarism of Stalinism form an indivisible unity and this is the reason why Stalinism is so much more sensitive to criticism than the democracies which, notwithstanding all their efforts, have still not arrived at Russian conditions.

Therefore, if our leaflet strikes your sister as "good" only so long as we attack the democracies, the German government, Herr Schumacher, etc., but spare the Stalinists, then this only proves the extent to which the Stalinist school has brought the thinking of the so-called "vanguard" down to the lowest level not only of *decadent* democracy, but also of the vilest *fascism*. If your sister is consistent, and rejects, *on principle*, critical and polemical tones (which is in question here), then she must likewise reject criticism and polemic *against the democracies* and find out how, without criticism and polemic, a foundation for the rejection of remilitarization is to be brought into being. That this is an impossible task is self-evident. Nevertheless, we would not deny your sister the human respect which one owes to all consistent people, even if one utterly disagrees with them on the matter. Whereas, if your sister is not consistent and rejects (as it appears from the formulation you give) "on principle" only criticism and polemic *against Stalinism*, then this is simply the result of *fascist* thinking, which grows out of the general decadence of bourgeois society and has thus far found in Stalinism its most violent expression.

Your sister has, like every mortal, the inalienable right to reply to an attack by a counter-attack, to criticism or polemical tones by proving them false and unjustified; but it is clearly fascistic, immoral, inhuman, and unobjective (pure synonyms) to reject polemic *on principle* without clearly and plainly dissociating oneself in this respect from Stalinism as well. But even if your sister's attitude were distinguished by consistency, and therefore from a formal-moral point of view unobjectionable (I emphasize once more that your sister serves here only as an example and that I keep strictly to your account, in order likewise to demonstrate *principles*) — even then her attitude would fall short of what is both objectively and humanly required if it is not to become inadequate and false.

Let us ignore the fact that a person who rejects "such tones" (in your sister's sense) *on principle*, and acts accordingly, automatically transforms himself into a human, political, and moral corpse. Suicide would here be the only consistent behavior, and how impossible, unobjective, and absurd is the standpoint of your sister in practice, is demonstrated by her own case. Indeed, she practices her *principled* rejection in a most *unprincipled* manner, and condemns only that paragraph in our leaflet which, to use your expression, deals with the "Stalinist devils". That she agrees with the much more extensive polemic against the "democratic devils" is shown not only by her silence on this score, but also by her express condemnation of only that paragraph concerning the Stalinists — our leaflet would be good

even *in toto* were this paragraph lacking. Thus unfortunately the *principled* rejection of "such tones" collapses and leads to an even more unprincipled rejection of these same "tones" only with us, but not with another opponent of Stalinism extensively quoted in our leaflet.

It is truly worthwhile to oppose the moral and spiritual devastation systematically furthered especially by Stalinism, which manifests itself at every step as incredible unscrupulousness and bottomless slovenliness, and to tarry at this point, before demonstrating that the judgement of your sister (were it not for this paragraph our leaflet would be "good") *would still remain objectively false, even if we had done the Stalinists a polemical injustice.*

\*

Our leaflet, after a lengthy polemic against the protagonists and concealed supporters of remilitarization, polemicalizes against the Stalinists in the following few words:

"The most corrupt political grouping, the German lackeys of Stalin, of course opposed remilitarization as they welcome any means which could help them in their defence of the Stalinist slave-state. Their nauseating howling for peace and the demagogic plebiscite-action directed by them would not even be worth mentioning [*sic!*] were it not [*sic!*] for the fact that they had been seized upon by government and 'opposition' as a welcome opportunity of deflecting attention from the question to be decided, of accusing every opponent of remilitarization of being Stalinist dominated, and of denouncing the correct [*sic!*] demand for a plebiscite as a Stalinist manoeuvre."

This attack on the Stalinists is, as you see, coupled with a new attack on the German Government and the sham opposition who use a demagogic trick in order to deflect attention from the question to be decided. In our attack we merely avail ourselves of the freedom, unfortunately strictly banned in the realm of Stalinism, of unmasking the demagogy of government and "opposition", of defending as *correct* the demand for a plebiscite, whether raised by the Stalinists or not. We therefore say at the end of the leaflet:

"The proper means for allowing the will of the majority to assert itself, and for reaching a decision on the question of remilitarization, is a plebiscite for the execution of which all [*sic!*] opponents of remilitarization must work everywhere with energy".

If we say *all*, we mean *all*, i.e., even those with whom we otherwise have differences or with whom we live in direct political enmity. The democratic rights of all human beings and peoples are dear to us without exception or limitation. We considered the declaration of the Confessional Church on remilitarization so excellent precisely because it is throughout an entirely democratic, politically irreproachable declaration, and because it reminds the German Government, in the face of its hostile attitude toward freedom (defamation of a plebiscite which as such has nothing to do with "Communism", but which can be proposed by a "communist") of the stipulation in the basic law of the German Federal Republic:

*"No one is to be favored or disadvantaged because of sex, descent, race, language, native country and origin, creed, or religious and political convictions."*

The declaration of the Confessional Church, however, does more and states at the outset:

"The possibility of a 'just war' does not exist today. We see the untruthfulness [!] which manifests itself in the propaganda of both [!] opponents. The recognition of this untruthfulness also forbids taking sides."

Even more interesting are the following passages of the declaration:

"In face of the planned police reinforcement one has to ask whether it is to serve only the protection of justice. There exists the danger that the State will develop into a power and police state. *Western Germany should not commence adoption of the principle of the German People's Republic against which it has hitherto fought.* Today voices are already heard which desire a reinforced police as an instrument of political power for the government parties or for the opposition also. In this the tendency toward a political police becomes clear which, according to its immanent law, drives to the form of the Gestapo and the NKVD [!], that is, to the administrative dissolution [!] of justice. . . .

"The guarantee of justice and the creation of social order are the most effective means, perhaps the only effective means, for the overcoming of bolshevism [!]. Imitation of bolshevik and fascist methods of punishing and discriminating against people innocent of crime solely for their opinion must directly evoke the system fought against. The present-day practice of general discrimination against people only *because they belong to certain clubs and organizations is, in our opinion, parallel to the 'Civil Service Law' of the Third Reich and the mechanical denazification.* We do not say this in praise of Communism which, for its part, employs the same methods [!] but because it is our concern to overcome it with a better order."

In this statement the Stalinists are accused by the Confessional Church of untruthfulness, of the dissolution of legal order through the political police (NKVD and the principle of the "Democratic Republic", Stalin brand), of discrimination and of the application of fascist methods. That is a sharp rebuke to the Stalinists. It is just because it is so well founded in fact that we call the Stalinists, who permanently and deceitfully claim to represent "the progress of mankind" in all and everything, the most corrupt political grouping. The question now is whether your sister, on the basis of "these paragraphs", is of the opinion that the declaration of the Confessional Church (which we use as the justification of our struggle against remilitarization and which we fully endorse) is just as *bad* as the whole of our leaflet. If she replies to this question in the negative, then she discriminates once again entirely in the Stalinist "spirit": i.e., she objects to "those paragraphs" only when expressed by us and thus sinks to a low level both objectively and humanly.

The declaration of the Confessional Church, however, is appropriate objectively and humanly, in that it carefully avoids making one-sided and unjust accusations against only one of the two brothers in spirit. By opposing untruthfulness, discrimination, strangulation of the freedom of opinion and organization on both sides, it has taken up an irreproachable political-moral position, and has only so acquired the moral *right* to criticism without which there can be neither freedom of opinion and organization nor an unfalsified expression of majority will.

Whoever wants to limit this right of criticism under whatsoever pretext (and let it be especially emphasized that the "building of Socialism" is the most degenerate of pretexts, a regular *slave state* pretext) must be regarded from the outset as suspect, even if the nature of the case makes him suspect only of confusion. Stalinism, which fears, like the plague, freedom of criticism and the crystallization of the majority will in the open struggle of opinions, and which brutally suppresses it in its realms of power, is by no means a form of confusion, regardless of how many confused individual Stalinists there may be. Stalinism is clumsy, rough and savage demagoguery and, as a state system, it is the most violent, bloody and reactionary inquisition and barbarism that ever existed in history. It is anything but "peaceful" — where it can get away or thinks it can get away (Korea, if you please) with aggressive wars, murder, enslavement, oppression, extermination of other peoples, and above all the ceaseless civil war against its own population, it is more belligerent, more rapacious, murderous and ruthless than the most savage of other imperialisms. A Stalinist may dislike major wars but he is fond of a lot of small ones. He does not consider a major war "opportune" — in that alone consists the actual existing "love of peace" of Stalinism, if, of course, the many "opportune" wars are ignored. The aggression against Finland, the Stalin-Hitler pact, the shameless attack on Poland (Stalin accepts presents from Hitler as gratefully as from Roosevelt!), the annihilation of the Baltic states (population virtually exterminated), the launching of the butchery in Korea — as soon as you dare to call these and all other outrages of Stalinism, crimes in the strict sense of the Nuremberg show-trials (Moscow pattern), the Stalinist loud-speakers immediately roar "Warmonger". Nevertheless we dare it, and we say in our leaflet:

"It is no accident that precisely a people which knows the 'Bolshevik danger' from first-hand experience can, in its large majority, see better than other peoples through the ridiculous farce enacted around remilitarization in spite of the propaganda efforts of its wretched government and 'opposition'. [Excepting the Japanese people, the leaflet should have added, who are also 'in the know'. — E.Z.] The Germans have, with war, Hitlerism, Stalinism [!], unconditional surrender, occupation, dismantling, mass expulsion, collective guilt [which brings to mind only too strongly the forced collectivization of the Russian peasant which was fertilized by the corpses of many millions of completely innocent people — E.Z.], war crimes, etc., etc., collected enough of their own experience to be capable of resistance, to unify against remilitarization and to answer the intellectual acrobatics of the 'defender of democracy' with a lapidary 'Without Me'."

The marvels mentioned in the last sentence, war and Hitlerism included, (if it was opportune, not only did *all* make pacts with Hitler, but both Hitler and the Allies applied also the methods developed by *Stalin*) have to be credited to "Socialism" (Stalin brand) even more than to the "democracies". For Germany in particular the fact has to be added that the oppression of the people by the Stalinists in the "Russian Zone" makes all that the kind democracies have done up to now in their zones appear almost "harmless". People, listen to the Central Committee: eastern zone police, eastern zone rearmament, the infamous adventure in Korea and all the other "blessings" — that is "peace" and "people's democracy" in

perfection! By permitting a genuinely free plebiscite, Stalinism would inflict upon itself a disastrous defeat in eastern Germany and in the rest of the world subjugated by it. Stalinism cannot permit itself a reverse maxim such as "Central Committee, listen, for once, to the people". It knows this and therefore demands "plebiscites" only from the "inferior" democracies, and at present, for lack of greater opportunities, it indulges only in "peace actions" *à la* Korea.

Well, since things stand so, we dare to call the Stalinists' peace howls, nauseating and utterly mendacious. We would agree with this assertion for purely objective reasons even if it were to come from the mouth of Mr. Adenauer. And why? Because truth does not become falsehood if uttered by Hitler, the devil, Stalin's grandmother, or even that Mr. Adenauer who is completely tied to "dollar imperialism" (concerning "dollar imperialism", we agree for once, on purely objective grounds, with the Stalinists and with all those others who make this accusation). And that is why we would have agreed with Mr. Adenauer also even if he (like us) had branded the referendum action as *demagogic in so far as it is or was directed by the Stalinists*. This stigmatization is justified by the fact that people who demand free plebiscites (which is the direct opposite of state-directed "unity elections") only from the western democracies, but consider as sacrosanct the state-barbarism of Stalinism, have morally disqualified themselves. Such people are demagogues who make use of all existing movements in order to misuse, to falsify and to poison them for their own particular ends. Ninety per cent of the German people know, from bitter experience, the demagogy of the Stalinists, which is utterly hostile to the interests of the people and they reject it just as they do remilitarization.

As citizens of western Germany, Stalinists have the right to demand plebiscites or to participate in them, and the government as such has no alternative but to carry out these plebiscites. While no one ought to be either restricted or privileged by the state, yet freedom of opinion and organization will be secured only if all bear the risk of their own convictions, opinions and organizations, i.e., expose themselves to scrutiny and correction. Applied to Mr. Adenauer this means: If, as member of the government, he has simply to carry out the plebiscite — as representative of a certain opinion or party, he is free to enter into the discussion and, for example, to drive the Stalinists into a tight corner by unmasking their two-faced demagogy, to enlighten the people about their sinister aims, to warn against them, etc.

It is, indeed, in the interest of truth and of a healthy political development, absolutely necessary that the tendencies supporting any political action are made clearly visible. There is not the slightest reason to falsify the character of a movement and, with "agreed aim", to veil the *political* differentiation by rendering the driving political forces, motives, moods, etc., unrecognizable. On the contrary, to avoid political differentiation in the interest of a "common goal" is an old trick but brought to perfection by Stalinism, by the aid of which it hopes (the real aim!) to fish in troubled waters. Stalinism has really become the "prototype" of those methods with which movements are "manipulated", falsified and perverted until their backbone is broken and they see themselves delivered to a dirty end. In defense, this axiom must be introduced into political life: *Whoever, in*

*the name of a goal or end, advocates political dilution and thus voluntarily or involuntarily obstructs political differentiation, has either become the victim of a political deception or proves that he does not take goal and end seriously but only misuses them for a secret special end.*

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Axioms require no proofs — they prove themselves in practice. In this realm matters stand thus: If an aim or end is attractive enough, then at least the majority required in a democracy will agree upon it as the common denominator. Then, the genuine majority (in contradistinction to the "manipulated" one) can only be determined in the unhampered struggle of opinions, and the end will not be endangered by the differences among the tendencies which agree upon its desirability. On the contrary, it is these differences which bring the end within reach. This is the principle of democracy as it should be in order to deserve that name fully. Behind any other interpretation lies nothing but declaring the people minors, contempt for the masses (who allegedly are to be "served"), conscious or unconscious deception, unintentional or deliberate fraud.

This purely objective description of the state of affairs contains no unjustified invectives. First, because it deals with the principled side of the question. Second, because no one is personally charged "who does not know what he is doing", and who is thus involuntarily misleading others because he himself has been misled through education, lack of schooling, official propaganda (not least the Stalinist), false theories, ignorance of the interconnection of things, etc., etc. In one instance or another, in one connection or another, that will and can happen to everybody, most certainly to us. Mutual clarification is the only remedy at our disposal against errors. That is just why unrestricted controversy is so important. Only he who refuses to correct himself after having been enlightened has to be classified as a blockhead (I intentionally put this word here), a demagogue, a deceiver, or whatever *corresponds* to the concrete case.

Quite differently from with our axiom in a question of *principle*, does it stand with the assertion of Mr. Adenauer in a *practical-political* question which he posed axiomatically but which led itself *ad absurdum*. Mr. Adenauer did not miss the opportunity of spouting "unheard-of-insults" (*Der Freie Mensch*, 3/8/51) against the opponents of remilitarization. He said: Whoever demands the neutralization of Germany with simultaneous demilitarization is "either a first-class blockhead or a traitor". Remilitarization, as has already been said, is a practical-political question which can only be decided by a free vote. Who here operates simply with unheard-of insults instead of with convincing arguments is as little trustworthy as Mr. Adenauer, about whom our leaflet reports:

"Dr. Adenauer who had just stated again that he was a *principled* [!] opponent of any kind of German remilitarization (*Manchester Guardian*, 2/9/50) made a smart about-face, followed his master's voice, and declared 'in principle' [!] his readiness for remilitarization'. (French High Commissioner on 9/10/50)."

Within the space of five weeks to be "in principle" *against* and "in principle" *for* remilitarization — one could call this first-class blockheadedness or betrayal of principles, were it not from the very beginning



completely unprincipled opportunism. Mr. Adenauer is politically weak and, in the discussion about remilitarization, cannot dare to overstep the limits imposed upon him by the east-west complicity. It would have been easy for him to unmask the "communists" as *real* blockheads or as political rabble in so far as they tried to use the remilitarization question for the strengthening of Stalinism, by simply raising the East German question (slogan: neutralization, freedom, democracy and disarmament for the *whole* of Germany). He would have been justified in doing so and he could have stuck to the full truth. But here the fact stood in his way that one cannot tell the full truth without also turning against the democracies. These democracies are as guilty as Stalin of the dismemberment of Germany and would not dream of changing the status they have themselves created. It is not only Stalin who is interested in hiding his real motives and who violently abhors an honest (progressive) struggle. Now, as before, the democracies are his accomplices and far from wishing to give up, in the interest of progress and freedom, the subjugation of the world at which they are conspiring *together* with him. There may be differences between Stalin and the "democracies" about their share in this subjugation. However, the entire "democratic" and "socialist" or "communist" residue is nothing but a propaganda play in which *all* partners have learnt their parts only too well. Korea is a particularly instructive example. Both "adversaries" would be in a position to give Korea, with the agreement of all, the freedom promised to it (the betrayal of this promise is one of the most infamous in history), if they could dare to confess their guilt by revealing the full truth. Nobody can dare this, nor can Mr. Adenauer dare to stand forth fully armed against the "communists" who would knock him out of his "western-democratic" heaven. It is gratifying to see that the knowledge of the real state of affairs has already penetrated deeply into the popular consciousness and that this has manifested itself in many forms during the campaign against remilitarization. Thus, for instance, a "simple" newspaper writes:

"The biggest worry (of the western democracies) is not at all to maintain uninjured the democratic and liberal ideas and principles. It is rather the endeavor so to direct and correct the will of the people and — if necessary — to dam it so that it does not proceed to measures which would do harm to their sacred swindle.

"This endeavour keeps to pseudo-democratic lines as long as this is possible. But it sets aside, without scruple, all democratic forms and principles if they no longer serve. According to their needs they conclude alliances with God, the devil and Franco. [I would like to know what the infamously famous family Mann has to say about remilitarization! — E.Z.] This explains many things to us which are otherwise inexplicable.

"But it demonstrates at the same time how badly guarded democracy is in the hands of those who believe that they must defend it against absolutism by force of arms and even with the help of outspoken autocrats. Real democracy can only exist when the economic system of the peoples no longer contains anything which cannot stand the light of day and which has to fear the unfalsified will of the people. As long as that is not the case, it remains nothing but veiled fascism which will always tend to ally itself with open fascism." (*Der Freie Mensch*, No. 30, 1951, signed: R.B.)

Indeed the peoples permanently trampled upon by their governments know how little daylight the economic system on both sides can stand. The madness of this "system", which has become absolutely impossible, generates, amongst the rulers, hysterical fear of the unfalsified will of the people — a fear which overcomes all the differences between Stalinism and the "democracies" and which provides for the permanent renewal of the complicity between east and west. The unifying and most urgent task for Stalinism and "democracy" is to dam the popular will. But when damming is not sufficient, then all democratic principles go to the devil, i.e., they proceed to dictatorship. That is why Mr. Adenauer and the German government cannot do better than to use "libellous" (compare the letter of Wilhelm Elfes to Dr. Adenauer printed below) and insulting invective against all those who disagree, to ban the plebiscite and even to use police measures against those who conduct a "private" referendum (the so-called "wild people's referendum" attempted by the Stalinists). But what do the Stalinists do who fortunately cannot yet forbid anything in the west and who, to boot, cannot yet condemn to slave labor, the families, friends and acquaintances of the advocates of a plebiscite?

Whether your sister will have it so or not, the Stalinists saw themselves confronted by a truly popular movement which had come into being entirely without their help and which, with elementary force, went over their heads, that is to say, had an *outspoken anti-Stalinist character* besides its hostility against rearmament. The masses had proven once more with what subtlety and correctness they understand how to react to political necessities if they have the slightest opportunity to do so. The attempt to struggle against western rearmament and oppression without fighting against the eastern barbarism is absurd, and deprives the struggle against remilitarization of its political and moral basis. This feeling is so strong and general, and corresponds so much to the political situation, that with all opponents of remilitarization (I mean in their documents, leaflets, letters, etc.) it breaks through in manifold nuances, summarily and in detail. It is out-of-hand excluded for Stalinism to approach such a movement with the concern of introducing a *better* order. To the movement, however, the concern of overcoming above all also Stalinism "through a better order" is simply inherent, as appears already from the declaration of the Confessional Church and will be demonstrated on the basis of numerous documents in the second part of this book.

In any case Stalinism has no other alternative in regard to *all* progressive movements but to exploit them in the interest of "the defence of Stalin's slave-state". It must thus try to "check" the will of the people and to *neutralize* it wherever it cannot use cruder methods. In the present case, however, it can only neutralize the movement if it neutralizes it in *both* directions, takes the progressive sting out of it, thus breaks its backbone, paralyzes it, and finally prevents it from achieving its aims. With such "tactics", Stalin (in closest agreement with "democracy" and the "social democrats", of course) succeeded in delivering Germany to Hitler and Spain to Franco, and in steering the great resistance-movements in the countries subjugated by Hitler into the worst kind of chauvinism and into complete demoralization.

I cannot write a history of the Stalinist "checkings" of the people's will



here, but the "tactics" applied reveal everywhere that Stalinism is a deadly enemy of progress and of the popular will. I assert without reservation that for this reason Stalinism would rather swallow Western remilitarization than the realization of the unfalsified will of the people and that it will again make, *nolens volens*, common cause with the Bonn government and the clique of social democratic leaders in order to avert the danger equally deadly for all oppressors. Defamation of the opponents of remilitarization is one method, destruction of the character of the movement by "neutralization" in both directions is *another*, for thwarting the progress contained in the movement itself. The Stalinists, moreover, by their "wild plebiscite" have, with suspicious zeal, helped to mark the movement with *their own* (a false) label and thus to facilitate its defamation as "Communist". One could believe in "planning" — so powerfully does the frightening mechanism of the Stalinist system work. And every practical case confirms for East and West alike the correctness of the axiom formulated above: the prevention of differentiation, consciously or unconsciously, can only be a political fraud, a tendency hostile to the public and to progress. However, as far as we can see, the "neutralization tendency" in the sense of watering down of political ideas has found expression only in one single document, namely in the "Appeal to All Germans", put out by the "Main Committee for a Plebiscite", under the motto: "Against Remilitarization — For A Peace Treaty". (More about this appeal too in the second part: "The campaign in documents and its preliminary results".) Everywhere else the movement has asserted its original character with great vigor. The overwhelming majority of the German (and Japanese) people showed a political maturity which would persist even if the movement should at the end be strangled "*by other means*". Ever increasing doses of avalanche-like frauds and propaganda-lies have become ineffective and have reached a point where they turn against themselves, lose every meaning in the consciousness of the masses (on soil saturated with rain, water simply filters through or it evaporates) and exercise a "revealing effect" quite unexpected by their authors. The ideological rubbish of *both* opponents is indeed treated as such. With magnificent vigour the movement has swept over all particular interests and ideological differences and has nowhere sensed them *in practice* as an obstacle. But the *political* differences with East and West it has steadily upheld to such a degree and pushed them so much into the foreground (as you will see in the second part) that even some members of the "Main Committee for a Plebiscite" broke through the limitations imposed by the "Appeal to All Germans" and made some excellent political contributions. From the movement itself therefore comes the confirmation of the fundamental principle that one may and even must put aside particular interests and ideological matters to achieve a common aim, but *must never* suppress or ignore *political* differences.

It is as if the movement, in your way dear Mrs. R., intended to say: "One insults me and calls me 'Communist'? Well, we shall talk about it, but if it is no more than that! ? Nothing leaves me more cold as long as I can be against rearmament and as long as the 'Communists' do not prevent me from speaking in my own name. A plebiscite is definitely not a party affair but is supposed to prove just *that* and, to boot, *why* the *majority* of the people rejects or advocates a certain measure (for instance: the building of

armored cruisers in memory of the Social-Democrats or the plebiscite jointly introduced by Nazis and 'Communists' to remove the Social-Democratic government in Prussia). If the 'Communists' feel that they are unjustly struck or insulted they can defend themselves, just as I can. If they really care for the *cause* for which the *people* is supposed to fight, then, despite personal irritation, their party-interests should not prevent them from considering as 'good' everything that helps the cause. But if they give preference to their party interests and try to muzzle me, then I have one reason more to call them political swindlers and to warn the people against such fakers who do not want to show their own colors but are 'masters' in using the undefinable camouflage which they call 'unity'."

Through you, dear Mrs. R., the movement speaks with genuine voice and it is certainly no accident that you too speak as an anti-Stalinist when you write: "Communism can only be defeated by war or by revolutionary non-violence, by non-violent revolution".

So you hold "Communism" something worth defeating and you speak about *eastern* as well as *western* — militarism. Once more: This is the indestructibly healthy tenor of the movement which the Stalinists dislike so much and which forces them to judge unobjectively and falsely. Let me therefore conclude the argumentation on the falsehood of your sister's judgement with a positive example. Let us suppose that a publication which is completely correct and to the point as regards the matter dealt with were to treat us badly, insult us, or even slander us. The only judgement we could recognize as being objective and exact would be this: *Despite* the fact that we are insulted and slandered therein, the publication is *good!*

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If we have thus, in this matter, to attack clearly and inexorably your sister's judgement point by point, I would at once like to add objectively: I do not believe that your sister and those "most valuable Communists", with whom you maintain personal contact, are genuine Stalinists. I rely, of course, upon what you have told me, and I presume that the co-operation with your "Communist" friends is based on "confidence and complete frankness". If that is really so then your sister and her friends are much more misguided idealists than Stalinists. For Stalinism and "confidence and complete frankness" are *absolute* contradictions, *absolutely* irreconcilable categories. The tragedy of the situation lies in this: While objectively one has to call the Stalinists the "most corrupt political grouping", this does not signify that every individual "Communist" is personally a scoundrel. The stress lies on the word "grouping", the quality of which is, in the case of Stalinism, determined by the theoretical, political and methodical corruption and which, as a whole, remains stronger than the *personal* quality of its individual members. In spite of this, the difference between individual and grouping persists and leads sometimes to repulsions, separations, regroupings, and so on. Under capitalist conditions and the fetishization of all things (also of the theoretical or spiritual), still more overstressed by parties, organizations, etc., people know only in the rarest cases what they are doing and by whom they are exploited. On the other

side, they learn, in the average, only by dire experience and under the pressure of great, mostly catastrophic, events — on the other side, the situation would be hopeless if the contradiction between the individual and grouping were not kept alive by further objective contradictions. By these, single individuals are incited to generalize the preceding experience and to prepare the generally necessary-appearing regroupment, to accelerate and execute it consciously "on the level of the time". Therefore at all turning points of history the task poses itself of altering the consciousness and attempting to overcome the contradictions which have ripened to irreconcilable antagonisms on a new and every time broader basis.

The first generalization which results from a hundred years of experience is that of the total and irrevocable collapse of the political workers' movement and of Marxism, at least in so far as the latter is the theory of the workers' movement and intends through it to realize Socialism. Who has, only for the last thirty-seven years, witnessed how much enthusiasm, idealism, devotion and good-will have been misused, unscrupulously wasted, brutally stamped upon and converted into measureless evil — who has witnessed this and is able to digest it calmly has, God knows, a stomach of lead. The official victory of the Stalinist over the Bolshevik wing (1927) has sealed the collapse of the political workers' movement. "The Third International", confused from the beginning and since Lenin's death steadily declining, has by nothing less than corruption of its leading bodies, been transformed into a tool, without character and will, of Stalin's capitalistic Russian firm. The material corruption was naturally effectuated in many intricate ways (books could be written), but it existed and could be felt step by step. It had its basis in the "rolling Rouble" which became proverbial; a triumph over all critical elements (the incessant "purges" for rightist, leftist, centrist, Trotskyist, Zinovievist, etc., etc., "Deviations"); it everywhere turned the scale and — went hand in hand with an unexamined ideological corruption.

It was at once the highest principle of Marxism-Leninism to tell the masses under all circumstances the truth and nothing but the truth. Marx and all great Marxists were models in conscientiousness; falsification of history was evaluated as an unerring symptom of social decay. Now, under Stalin, the whole leadership split itself completely into cliques struggling against each other and deception of the masses already began with the ordinary party member. There were falsification, lies, intricate twisting, intrigues, and the theoretical level dragged down to the dismally vulgarized, opportunistic, crassly fraudulent Marx-Lenin interpretations of the surely brutally energetic and clever but incredibly primitive, ignorant and illiterate Sergeant Stalin. Everything was stood on its head and history was in literally permanent rewriting (whole ranks of great and small party comrades fell under the wheels at each "rewriting" alone!) until Stalin's blood-gorged counter-revolution could appear as the peak of the development (presented as "construction of Socialism in one country") and this most horrible, most insatiable comrade-and-mass murderer of all history could be pictured as the — Great God! — "best disciple of Lenin".

Between 1924-1927 the world bourgeoisie convinced itself that Stalin's "spirit" was its spirit, his system its system, his economy its "ideal". His "Socialism in one country"? The augurs know what Lenin

would have said to that. They smilingly exchange glances: "Good fodder for the masses!" Lenin had predicted of Stalin, "This cook will prepare only hot dishes". Before his death he had broken off all relations with Stalin, had demanded his removal from his post and warned Trotsky against half-measures: "Stalin will enter into a rotten compromise and afterwards he will deceive us". Trotsky did not heed the warning, accepted a compromise and — Stalin prepared exclusively hot dishes and betrayed *everybody*.

During this period was formed the alliance between Stalin's fascism and the "democracies" and it solidified itself ever more despite all imperialist rivalries. Completely in agreement concerning the decisive goal of holding down any revolutionary movement, the Allies exploit still more mercilessly the advantage which their economic, power and propaganda monopoly (brought by Stalin to "exemplary" heights) gives them over the suffering masses shaken by the post war crisis. It is altogether the time of general insecurity and of opportunity for *parvenus* — the bourgeoisie had found out that "Marxian" and other upstarts could do its business sometimes better than it itself. In this way the odorous Georgian becomes "acceptable", as before and after him "Social-Democrat" Ebert, the "Socialist" Mussolini, the "National Socialist" corporal from Braunau and a long line of ordinary union pie-cards (I mean "Social-Democratic" or "Communist" Ministers and similarly thriven animals who were formerly in "better" circles treated with contempt because of their "low" birth). But nobody knows better how to manipulate the masses than master Stalin, who does his "democratic" companions in China, Germany, Spain, invaluable butcher service and again saves the existing order with his "Peoples' Front Policy" in the French crisis of 1936. (Ten years earlier he had strangled the English general strike with the help of his Anglo-Russian Committee.) Consequently only the incomparable master of mass butchery and deceit could be considered as the right man by the Allies when at the end of the Second World War the problem of the masses in Eastern Europe and Asia had to be "solved" in accordance with the tendency of contemporary capitalism to fall back, on the basis of a high technology, into Russian barbarism and slavery.

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One has to retain this development in mind if one wants to understand why, since Stalin's victory, not only has the lead stomach become fashionable but "Marxism" has become an indefinable mash which can only be accepted by a lead stomach. Our stomach is more delicate and is determined to know nothing of that poisoned junk which is offered by Stalin and Co. as "Marxism". Of course, as has been remarked earlier, the question of whether something is right or wrong cannot be decided by reference to Marxism. What is right or wrong has to emerge from a critical examination — here we are concerned with the world-stupefying exploitation of an authoritative doctrine which, over the course of a hundred years, has been sufficiently gnawed by the tooth of time to make way for critical inquiry of a new kind, but *without falsification in the service of blackest reaction*. We receive from time to time epistles in which we are questioned about our "position on Marxism" because in this or that article the name

Marx had been mentioned or there had been remarks about Marx or a quotation from Marx had been used. Then it comes out that sometimes the naked word Marxism had the effect of a red rag to a bull. Some boast even: "I know nothing about Marx and Lenin but I hate them; it is all their fault". Others find that we are, properly speaking, Marxists, but for some reason or other will not say so. To everyone his pleasure — the position which betrays most insight with respect to Marxism seems to be that of Willy Haas who in concluding a criticism of the Marx biography by Leopold Schwarzschild (another blind devourer of Marx) writes:

"Marx and Marxism cannot be argued out of the spiritual history of mankind. We do not wish here to enter on political discussions. But the writing of history, the analyses of literature, art and culture after Marx have a quite different appearance from before — researchers and critics who have been as far removed from orthodox Marxism as possible have also profited from this. Not even Schwarzschild's negative analysis of Marxism would have been possible without a quite considerable admixture of Marxism. Marx was the first to introduce a certain kind of analysis of the historical development that underlies the superficial phenomena from which all subsequent and very different methods, down ["down" is very good! — E.Z.] to psychoanalysis and individual psychology, to Spengler and Toynbee, have taken over something into the fundamental scientific attitude with which they approach their object." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 24/1/48.)

In this sense Marxism has become an intellectual food which one imbibes like mothers' milk without knowing it. Read the following:

"In reality all wars have taken place for economic reasons. In order to make them politically and socially palatable [!], there has always been an appeal to ideological considerations. Undoubtedly any future war will follow the historical precedent."

That is from a brochure for the Finance Committee of the Senate, not intended for the public, issued by the American Navy News Service. It can be authoritatively asserted and supported by innumerable examples: Where they can let themselves go and, for their own use, cannot avoid the bare truth, (the public must regale itself on the "palatable" ideological considerations of Stalin, Schumacher, Truman and *tutti quanti*), all the rulers of the world present themselves in the decisive attitude of hard-boiled Marxists whose avowals we are well able to use, for example, in the argumentation against remilitarization. Such involuntary Marxist avowals rest upon the circumstance that to a large degree Marxism merely reflects certain natural and social laws from which escape is not granted any mortal. But exactly because Marxist elements whirr around everywhere, I would like to ask you, dear Mrs. R.: Why do you think you must offer your "contribution to present-day controversies" just as a "Marxist"? Your letter is not Marxist in a single syllable of its content, and where you do go on record politically, you appear definitely as an anti-Marxist. It is already strange enough when a "Marxist" wants to defeat "Communism" but that is probably due to the usual identification of Communism and Stalinism which can only create confusion (for good reasons we press for a clean terminology). Totally impossible however is a "Marxism" which declares categorically: "Communism can be defeated either by war or by

revolutionary non-violence, by non-violent revolution. Everything else is sentimentality."

Please understand me correctly, dear Mrs. R.: One does not have to be a Marxist to banish a "non-violent revolution" into the realm of fables — many anti-Marxists do that. But for Marx the use of force in the "defeat" of social systems originates so deeply from the nature of the "irreconcilable class antagonisms" that removing "revolutionary violence" from his system would mean radically to revise Marxism. (The rejection of the violent overthrow, incidentally, was the kernel of Bernstein's revisionism, which provided the Social-Democratic clique of leaders with the "theoretical" basis for handing over the workers' movement to the Hohenzollern régime and later to Hitler.) Marx argued the reverse of you: "Revolutionary non-violence (a highly dubious notion!) — that is petit-bourgeois sentimentality."

Beyond this, i.e., independently of Marxism, your categorical assertion is categorically false. For just as "Communism", in your opinion, can be defeated by a *war*, it can be defeated by a revolution. Obviously there is a very real possibility of coping with Stalinism without war. The enormous economic superiority of America alone, if America utilized it for this purpose, would suffice to shake it from *without*. In that case the external shock would scarcely be anything other than the spark for the revolution within, because the Stalinist clique probably will not yield its rule without a struggle. Equally imaginable is an insurrection in one of the satellite countries, which would mean the defeat of Stalinism in that country. In any event it is absurd to prescribe for the development only two ways out, when the concrete development itself will have the last word and is quite capable of combining war and revolution. What, for example, if America marches further on the present road, becomes totalitarian itself and, like Hitler, only strives at maintaining the alleged "Soviet institutions"? We hope that this will never happen, but one can fulminate against the revolution or shout for it as much as one likes — it will break out like a thunder-storm when the atmospheric conditions demand it.

Moreover nothing specifically Marxist is contained in your political attitude when you write: "But I am enclosing two things for you which will indicate my opinion of the only possible peaceful formation of power (now and in Western Germany). You will then see whether it pays for you to speak further."

Dear Mrs. R., it would be neither objective nor human to refuse to discuss further, especially where nothing but good will and honest endeavor are discernible. Let me state that the documents of the "Fellowship of Reconciliation", which you enclosed, are not "Marxist" in a single point but are in many points directly anti-Marxist contributions. Their chief value consists in a clear opposition to the "remilitarization of Germany" on the correct basic line, namely opposition to "rearmament of Germany in East [!] and West". Whatever position Marxists may adopt towards that — it is clear that the rejection of remilitarization is not a Marxist article of faith, and just because of that, the East-West machinations are rejected by many non- or anti-Marxist organizations and individuals.



In discussing further, the question has now to be clarified, *why*, in contradiction to your assurance, do you, as a "Marxist", not only not offer a single word of *Marxist* contribution, but see, in the partly expressly anti-Marxist, partly highly problematical declarations (directives, proposals) of the "Fellowship of Reconciliation" the "only possible" (again a categorically false assertion!) peaceful formation of power? I connect this question with the observation of your authority who told you that "the German intelligentsia and bourgeoisie (both seen purely ideologically) are today on the whole more open-minded than the workers". On the basis of extensive experience, I can confirm the view of your authority as correct, and not only for Germany. It is in general correct, however, only if by "workers" one understands the sorry remnants of the former workers' movement. This workers' movement is essentially nothing more than a corpse about which swarms the bureaucratic vermin which passes off its own "life" as that of the workers. The disgraceful collapse of the Second and Third Internationals and the total degeneration of the "free" trade unions is seen consciously or unconsciously as a definite fact and are so irrevocable that even serious Marxists are seeking solutions which lie outside the workers' movement. Formerly the labor movement was a prop to progressive thought and gave it political effectiveness. Today it is an obstacle to it and the most effective political pioneer for all totalitarian forces. There is not one iota of exaggeration in the assertion: Every other non-fascist Party or trade union (e.g., the Christian) would be *compelled* by the social dynamic to defend the interests of the worker better than, acting in the name of "Socialism", the Labor bureaucracy which only has the function of diverting the pressure from the nub so long as the masses cannot yet be dealt with on the lines of the Stalin-Hitler system. How could the working class as a *particular social stratum*, in the given bureaucratic framework, display "open-mindedness"? Obviously it does not appear in the pronouncements of the Stalinist clique, which in itself is arch-fascist, solely trained for intellectual, political, moral and physical murder, whose pronouncements merely demand blind obedience, "Loyalty to the Line". Nor does the open-mindedness manifest itself in the unprincipled horse trading, done without a trace of independent policy, of the Schumachers and company all over the world, who "close" the intellectual and political prison of Stalinism from the other side.

It is, however, not the first time that history has taken a detour and humanity rises rejuvenated out of a great catastrophe (as such must indeed be considered also the collapse of the Labor movement, with Social-Democracy as the originator and Stalinism affixing the seal). Undoubtedly the workers have lost the possibility of achieving social status and human dignity through their own movement. This possibility only existed and the independent labor movement only had meaning so long as it was sharply distinguished from all other movements and strove for something fundamentally different. With the Social-Democratic and Stalinist Revisionism (Socialism in "one" country) the former movement has degenerated into mere organization whose members are, for the bureaucracy, solely exploitation material. For what decides the true character of labor organizations are not the opinions and illusions of the bureaucracy but the position of the organization as a whole in relation to State and society. The theoretical

horizon of the labor organizations nowadays lies far below that of the bourgeoisie and is the more provincial the more it seeks to arch itself over American skyscrapers on the one hand, and the vast Russian steppes on the other. However, its position in relation to State and society is exclusively one of servant, lackey, and haggler, in which the customary fuss in haggling over the share in the loot is christened "opposition". (Herr Schumacher "opposes" Herr Adenauer and is "realpolitisch" convinced that he can squeeze five pennies more out of the Allies; Herr Pieck "opposes" the democracies and calculates indignantly, after the "realpolitische" business at Potsdam, that his master in the Kremlin has been cheated of five pennies by the Allies.

In the consciousness of the broad masses, the intelligentsia, and the progressive bourgeois, "labor organizations" exist merely as bureaucratic apparatus and are the objects of utter contempt. And as far as the bureaucrats are concerned, they display their cynicism and their secret contempt of the worker nowhere better than in those utterances with which they "justify" the catastrophic consequences of their haggling deals in a society based on haggling. Where is there a Social-Democrat who did not vote war credits and afterwards lustily sing: "The enemy whom we hate most deeply is the masses' lack of common sense"? "The working class has failed" — that was, in the emigration, the standing refrain of the same leading clique who had sabotaged the organized mass struggle against Hitler with every means and then begged the Allies to liberate them from the tyrant. Friedrich Stampfer, just coming from the war alliance with Master Stalin, "philosophized" in face of the post war difficulties with his "realpolitische" selected fellows that war was probably "rooted in human nature". The man who was in succession German, Czech, French, and American patriot and hod-carrier, must indeed know his own "human nature", but there has been too little reflection on the fact that the level of the old "family magazines" was higher than that of today's "Labor Press". Where once a Lenin demanded "Peace without Annexations or Indemnities", "The Right of Self-Determination for All Nations even to Secession from the Russian Empire", and was not to be diverted by any Treaty of Brest-Litovsk from the line, "International Solidarity of the Proletariat", today Pieck, Ulbricht, Eisler, Becher and company (Ebert's "great" son dwells happily in their midst!), dare to preach to the "masses", repentance, atonement, collective responsibility, reparations, etc., and to proclaim the imperialist raid of Stalin as a "Socialist Victory". (One of the weightiest reasons which incited Lenin before his death, to break off all relations with Stalin, was the latter's violent "treatment" of the national question in Georgia.) These are the same creatures who were, equally, only intent on sabotaging the struggle against Hitler and executing the orders of Stalin who gave them the directive: "Hitler must first come to power". (Incidentally: Herman Remmele and Heinz Neumann, for example, who did not sanction the Master's "Hitler-line" at that time, had later to pay with their lives in Moscow for their "deviation".)

In short: The intelligentsia, who formerly called the labor movement to life and were long attracted to it, today turn away from it and seek ways out on foundations which correspond to the altered conditions. But one must not overlook that the workers follow the trend of the time —



the campaign against remilitarization shows clearly that they participate very "open-mindedly" when an opportunity offers. As much as, on the one hand, everything is retrogression and decay, so much, on the other, has the progress of development meanwhile created preconditions for a movement which can be more progressive and more universal but simultaneously also more elemental, more uniform and simpler than the historically obsolete labor movement. In this movement, the workers will behave like you, dear Mrs. R., when you yourself silently lay aside Marxism also insofar as it is the theory of the *Labor Movement*, i.e., consider the directives of the Fellowship of Reconciliation as your political platform, directives which lie entirely outside the Labor Movement. The time is ripe for a true majority movement, in which the worker will live as a human among humans, achieve, as a peer, immediate human dignity, and cease to be the "specific worker", bearing all burdens. We, you, and many others count, in this sense, as one of the innumerable "symptoms" of a basically altered situation which demands a critical review of the total inherited inventory. Marx said: "The tradition of all past generations weighs like an Alp on the brain of the living". We do well to rid ourselves also of the tradition of the dead Labor Movement and must realize that it serves no purpose to use the trade-mark "Marxism" when in reality new contents and forms stand to be debated.

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I would like in this connection to say a few words about the attitude of your brother-in-law who has labelled us "disillusioned Communists". You observe about that: "Even though he is one himself, and this complex makes him also view some very important matters distortedly, yet he is quite furious with you. He does not want to be confounded with you in any way. According to him, you have only turned to me once more because you find no echo. This whole atmosphere tasted too much of a swamp for me to occupy myself further with it."

Quite objectively: There we have the swamp atmosphere, which has spread so widely, not least under the influence of the rotten Labor bureaucracy, that one can scarcely open one's mouth without coming into contact with the psychology of disillusioned . . . GPU agents à la Arthur Koestler. I will not count out to your brother-in-law how many of us at all were once in the "Communist" or any other party, and how many not, before they realized that a movement lying outside of all known models is necessary. I also don't care what "he himself is" — I discuss and ask you:

Is it not symptomatic of the low intellectual level of our time that so many people toss about unproved assertions, insubstantial personal suspicions, empty phrases, and then imagine that they have said "weighty things"? Who the devil has asked your brother-in-law to be "confounded" with us? We certainly have not, nor does his being "quite furious" with us cut any ice with us. When we ourselves wish to enter into a debate and are "angry" against someone (which is simply good human right), we tell him point blank *what reasons* determine our anger: that is, we operate openly, precisely, and so that the real or supposed opponent at least has the opportunity to defend himself. This absolutely open attitude, sharply deviating from "tradition", is not the least reason which has brought *Dinge*

*Der Zeit* and *Contemporary Issues* more echo than your brother-in-law dreams of. The circle of collaborators, friends and readers of both periodicals has from the beginning constantly grown, as your brother-in-law could have proved to himself by even a fleeting perusal of the numbers that have appeared. But just at the moment when our leaflet, "Gegen die Remilitarisierung", found nothing less than an "astonishingly multifarious" echo, he imagines that we are "only" courting your favor to avoid, so to speak, emerging completely empty-handed. Well, let us assume that our publications had met with an attitude of absolute silence and indifference. Is that in itself a proof of anything or is it "sinful" *per se* to be concerned about an "echo"? Good Lord, the whole world does that and I believe that our only "sin" consists in having good reserves. For we neither conduct a business nor write for money — we turn to you as to any other person within reach "only" because, like countless other people, we want to come to an understanding with others about foundations, means and ways of avoiding a possible final catastrophe for mankind. Should that be a sort of crime in the eyes of disappointed Communists or other bankrupts, we gladly plead guilty and will continue to sin vigorously, in spite of those who are disillusioned.

From this you may recognize, dear Mrs. R., that not only do "genuinely collaborative thoughts", when they exist, "receive a hearing" with us (be it in the form of articles, letters, contributions, observations, criticisms, information or what have you), but also outspokenly non-collaborative thoughts, that is, such as are "quite furious" with us, and are designed, if possible, to do away with us. Everything we come across which in any way is fertile is taken up and worked over to the extent of available forces in order to obtain as complete a picture as possible of every possible side of human relations and interests. I believe I am not mistaken in the assumption that you are a little astounded to see your letter repaid by such a tapeworm of a reply. But it seems impossible to us not to talk about things or problems that are presented to us for discussion in the way which is necessary in the interests of mutual understanding. We have nothing to do with the pseudo-democratic procedure of certain periodicals and newspapers, which publish "Letters to the editor", institute "Readers' corners" and "Discussion rubrics" but never bother about the real concerns of living people outside of their "business", nor ever seriously occupy themselves with the views or objections of their "dear readers".

When we started the publication of *Dinge Der Zeit* and *Contemporary Issues*, we promised in the "Editorial" that we would stand for the unusual and unexpected and that we wished to subject those dealing with public affairs to public scrutiny of any desired form whatever. That, in itself, was already an "unusual" statement but even more unusual was the inherent consequence of tearing down in all matters of public interest the artificial dividing wall between writer and reader, between private and public expression of opinion. The most unusual was finally the introduction of a method of work and an organizational plan (see "The Great Utopia", No. 5), which makes it impossible for us to violate our principles without destroying our entire work. To eliminate, as far as possible, misunderstandings and superfluous questions, we provided information about ourselves and stated: "The editors and friends of *Dinge Der Zeit* consist of

anti-fascists who have never accepted any government office (directly or "indirectly") and who have never supported any government propaganda (whether Russian or "democratic"). In other words: The views presented here for discussion are anything but the products of opportunism or coincidence. Therein consist the political-moral credentials which we, as the initiators of the democratic world organization (we can be no more than that), tender — the test is a matter of time, of further practice, and of the support which our efforts can rally."

That was at once clear, unambiguous, self-confident and — modest, but a deeply rooted (very understandably!) mistrust and insufficient consideration of our fundamental statements caused many readers who reacted quite positively and enthusiastically to ask us again and again: "Who are you really, and what do you want?" To give the truth its due, it struck us that, in the great number of new letters on our leaflet, "Gegen die Remilitarisierung", this question is no longer asked as frequently as before. Undoubtedly the realization has slowly spread that we are what we said about ourselves and that we want what we advocate. Still the question continues to be asked, chiefly because new readers constantly enter who do not know our fundamental and programmatic statements laid down especially in the first numbers. Accordingly we must occasionally repeat, explain earlier statements from certain points of view (the presented objections, doubts, etc.), provide *resumés* — in a word: react to the most varied concerns and consider everything as "positive collaboration" which is suited to advance the knowledge of general and particular connections in any given sphere. For even the negative proves itself as positive if it is in turn negated, its falseness or limitedness is demonstrated, and so provides stronger foundation to the positive. In the leaflets of the Fellowship of Reconciliation on "The Cell", enclosed by you, stand the sentences:

"The integration of cognition and activity is unmistakable. Whoever does not act, whoever does not act correctly, has not perceived correctly. A cognition which is not immediately effective is distorted also as cognition. The same goes for religion and faith."

One can subscribe to the full content of that if one formulates the third sentence as follows:

"A cognition which is not immediately effective *correctly* is distorted also as cognition."

Perhaps the word "correctly" was only left out through an oversight or carelessness, but without this word, the statement is false. For it is obvious that a "distorted perception" (better: an error) can be just as immediately effective as the clearest insight. Will you be offended, dear Mrs. R., if, without reproach, solely for the sake of correct action and perception, I take your own case as an illustration? The correct perception, that such a reaction on your part would not be objective, will protect you from that — I continue unconstrained:

You ask your brother-in-law for information about us and "perceive" on the basis of his remarks, so to speak, that this whole atmosphere smells "too much" of the swamp. The information from your brother-in-law is inane and misleading but, since you take it for good coin, it *immediately* becomes effective: It causes you to dismiss the whole "atmosphere". Undoubtedly you have neither correctly perceived nor correctly acted —

from which follows: It is comparatively easy to subscribe to abstract correct statements; yet it is inordinately difficult to *perceive* correctly. Especially great is the difficulty of correct perception in the sphere of social relations, so complex in consequence of their reification and the atomization of the individual in bourgeois society that only continued effort and abundance of *knowledge* can lead to their correct perception. For example, to arrive at a correct judgement of *Dinge Der Zeit* and *Contemporary Issues*, i.e., of the existence, conceptions and activity of the persons connected with them, one must first of all be well informed on what we write and what we advocate. Just because the interaction of perception and activity is unmistakable, I am extremely sorry that an intelligent and unspoiled person like yourself (it may be "unusual", but I simply say what I think) cannot claim "to have studied and understood *Dinge Der Zeit* to its deepest recess". You are certainly right in your complaint. "There is too much paper one is continually required to digest". Nevertheless I would like to say, leaning upon a phrase of Nietzsche: Harder things have been done in the service of mankind than to read a periodical which (this for the attention of your brother-in-law) is regarded by many competent people as the most essential publication of the last decades. Since everything depends on reaching an understanding with those capable of it: Does not the evil consist less in the quantity than in the *bad and useless* paper which one is continually required to digest? Without exaggeration, there are days when the sight of paper and typewriter makes me sick. But can complaints alter the fact that I must have "digested" even the Stalinist muck if I want to judge it conscientiously? Real knowledge and extensive study are indispensable for finding one's way in this world overstuffed with industrial and intellectual shoddy, and for making adequate contributions. Honestly, dear Mrs. R.: Is it so hard to go carefully through at least the most important articles in a periodical which, on the average, has hitherto appeared only every six months and with regard to "much paper" cannot be a great burden? *Dinge Der Zeit* and *Contemporary Issues* are, for the most part, certainly not light reading, but whoever works through them carefully will soon discover that he can do without a pile of other reading material and is still better, more reliably, more all-sidedly orientated and informed than *with* that pile. And above everything else, our periodicals strive for independence and not for dependence, i.e., they supply collaborators and readers with the means of becoming independent in that most complicated and complex of all sciences, which is commonly called "politics".

After serious reading of only one number you would have also been able to perceive why to call us "disillusioned Communists" was to offer you cheap gossip. This can be perceived from the very character of our work which disillusioned people could not even envisage, still less "do". But once having got into contact with the intellectual thunder of your brother-in-law, I will not fail, for the purpose of the general advancement of knowledge and cognition, to give him a straight description of how things stand with the "disillusioned". They are a genus of people who are too weak to keep themselves at the level of the time and simultaneously too weak to identify themselves with the existing conditions in all their brutality. To describe them more closely, they are people who suffer from a ruptured

deviating from "tradition", is not the least reason which has brought *Dinge* consciousness and are never capable of coming to terms with themselves and their environment. If they are for the most part, former "Communists" (or "Socialists") this is because Communism was the only universal ideal opposing the bourgeois world. I know many of these disillusioned people and have never found among them a single one whose intellectual and moral substance was equal to his "ideal". They resemble the spirit which they understand, not the spirit of the great concept. The best type of the disillusioned is that which withdraws without a word, keeps silent and stands in nobody's way — the worst, that which had once spoken too loudly and now, following the irresistible urge for self defence, transforms the bad conscience of having betrayed the better side of its ego, into cynicism, arrogance, malice, superiority and "moral" criticism against those who, as politically active individuals, are the personification of its bad conscience.

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Back to the theme of "Knowledge, Cognition and Correct Action", which has to be brought into concrete connection not only with some other passages in your letter but also with the campaign against remilitarization. You inform us:

"I believed, last summer, that I had perceived your Communist antipathy would divert you from important facts and lead you onto the path of remilitarization. From that moment I had no more time for you."

Here we have again a striking example of how lack of knowledge and error took effect *immediately* — and naturally *falsely*. "From that moment" in which you "believed" you had observed something, you had no more time for our work and apparently just because support of, or opposition to, remilitarization forms the dividing line for you. In the conviction that the question of remilitarization of Germany would unavoidably be posed sooner or later, I stated in didactic manner in the very first number of *Dinge Der Zeit* in June 1947 (*Contemporary Issues* started a year later with the same article): "Germany, especially, sets itself no imperialist aims and needs no military preparations." We have consistently worked along this line, fought against the demagoguery of war propaganda (as against the whole war bogey in general) and in particular proved in two discussions, with Joseph Mackiewicz and Oskar Fischer, the absurdity of a "war against Russia" as a way out. Thus we performed nothing less than "pioneering work" and in many respects in an exemplary manner. This work you ignored and, with regard to its political effect, virtually "sabotaged" — where the most important point was the deepening of the argumentation and the bringing together of all forces directed against remilitarization, your "distorted" perception of our endeavors had an *immediately* obstructive effect in practical-politics, and that as much upon you yourself as upon the whole movement. Where it was correctly perceived this same work brought us great regard and (the proof of this you will find in the documents following below) exercised great practical influence, indeed, in some cases placed us at the head of the movement. And what is most important for us: It has again been confirmed that our periodicals are fulfilling one of their foremost purposes, that is, that in accordance

with our statement, they do in fact help people to become independent and waken political initiative.

Among other things, the initiative for our leaflet, "Gegen die Remilitarisierung", came not from us but from Mrs. A. whose *proposal* we published in No. 8 of both periodicals. Issuing the leaflet was for us a financial problem (low tide in the cashbox!) but it was impossible for us not to follow such an initiative. I do not know, dear Mrs. R., whether you have perused No. 8 and know the "proposal" submitted by Mrs. A. In any event, the introductory paragraph reads as follows:

"After having read [!] several issues of *Dinge Der Zeit* I should like to approach you today with a proposal for a new leaflet, on the subject of the Allied plan of remilitarizing Western Germany."

You see: In this case *correct* perception of the character of our work led to *immediately correct* action and not merely to an exceedingly happy initiative but also (as far as the effect of the leaflet comes into consideration) to a thoroughly happy result.

But that is certainly not all that is contained in this "small" incident and which deserves to be made clear for the sake of "correct perception" (as an important precondition for correct action on the basis of mutual understanding). If one accepts matters as they have worked out in fact, then in living practice Mrs. A. has been our teacher and we her pupils — the principal merit in bringing out our leaflet is hers, not ours. Still more: Whereas Mrs. A. had in reality made a thoroughly clear and independent political contribution with her proposal, we committed several political mistakes in our "editorial comments" on her proposal and on the leaflet of the "Confessional Church" ("To Arms? No.", also discussed in No. 8). While we have tacitly (and radically) corrected these mistakes in our leaflet, nevertheless we would be doing the "Confessional Church" and Mrs. A. an objective as well as human injustice were we not to give them satisfaction and establish expressly the nature of our mistake.

Both parties concerned themselves with the struggle against remilitarization on the *correct basis* which *includes* the fight for the preservation of democracy against the machinations of East and West. Everything that one could have wished for was expressed as follows in the leaflet of the "Confessional Church":

"In this rejection [of remilitarization] we believe we are at one with the majority [!] of the German people. If the democratic constitution of our State is not to become a mere façade, a decision of such gravity as that of rearmament must not be made against the majority of the people. Remilitarization against the will of the greatest part of the people would establish that the freedom which is supposed to be defended is already lost. . . . In Germany's present situation, therefore, we refuse conscription, regardless of whether the right to refuse is secured by the Constitution or not. We encourage everyone to do, with good conscience, the same. We ask everyone to fight for the retention of this right in the Constitution of the Bundesrepublik and the Länder."

Golden words, which deserved for "comment" only the exclamation: Long live the people and its infallible instinct for political necessities! Or, as our own leaflet later "commented", when we corrected our mistakes and also utilized other "most essential [!] points of this excellent statement" as



a *general platform*: "What is needed today and what the great majority of people feel is best expressed in a statement of the Confessional Church of 3-4 October, 1950. — These statements will be subscribed to by everyone [!] who does not wish to join those forces which act in the interests of an insignificant minority and never ask the people themselves [!] about their wishes and needs."

Instead, however, of simply "subscribing to" and perceiving that the fight against remilitarization sets into motion of itself, so to speak, a *whole democratic programme*; instead of taking its stand with the people and doing what the people "feel" as necessary and what "is needed today"; instead of keeping to the decisive question (remilitarization or not) — our "editorial comment" came out referring to a "whole programme", with explanations, in part completely off the mark, in part directly false. Let us here review the worst of the mistakes.

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1. *Proposal of Mrs. A.*: "Thus remilitarization cannot lead to a solution of the burning problems, but can only mean a strengthening of the totalitarian and semi-fascist rulers. Therefore the only consideration is spiritual resistance. The first expression of this resistance must be the demand for an immediate plebiscite, in the form of a free and secret referendum in accordance with the rights granted in the constitution."

*Our "Comment"*: "Naturally in this leaflet we will try to improve upon Frau A.'s proposal. For to take only the most important point, the slogan of 'spiritual resistance' and the demand for a free plebiscite only have positive [!] significance if they are supplemented by the demonstration of an alternative . . . [rational use of available resources and highly developed productive forces! E.Z.]".

*Correction*: To such positive nonsense and worse "improvements", can one be led by failing to see the wood for the trees. In reality, there was nothing at all to "improve" in the proposal — for purely practical reasons we only refrained from giving so extensive a justification for the plebiscite-demand as Mrs. A. proposed. But the plebiscite carries its "positive" sense totally in itself. Moreover, it achieves an alternative effect automatically as soon as it is *victorious*, and poses the question of a "rational" application of the productive forces as a practical task.

2. *Leaflet of the Confessional Church*: "We Germans must keep out of the conflict of the world powers."

*Our "Comment"*: "Again correct. But the authors must also realize that this demand takes on meaning only [!] when it is extended to include the French, the English, the Americans, etc., and . . . the Russians! For to aim only at a special solution for Germany is illusory and brings them very near to the position of the 'Nauheim Circle'. While it is indispensable for Germans to make a start in Germany and the more intransigent the better (cleanliness always begins at home) nevertheless German difficulties can alone be removed in the process of overcoming the world problems and the German movement against remilitarization can only [!] succeed as part of the world movement against power politics. Therefore it would be more fruitful to ask: How can we Germans, together with other suppressed peoples, and the great majority of the people who suffer because of power

politics, contribute practically [!], in order to avoid war, which would destroy not only Germany but the whole of world civilization? The German movements must give all aid in propaganda, actions, etc., to resistance outside Germany [?] and in this way create indispensable allies."

*Correction:* The clever "comment" consists of nothing but stupidities. In the first place, the demand that the Germans should keep themselves out of the conflict of the world powers only takes on "meaning" if French, British, Americans, Russians, etc., do *not*. For if all keep out *from the start*, the whole problem vanishes. What matters, however, is just to break through the general entanglement and thereby to make the *start* in Germany.

In the second place, it leads to nothing whatsoever to confound the *special* difficulties of German remilitarization with world difficulties, however much the former and the latter are connected. If the German difficulties are *only* to be removed together with world difficulties, then everything remains illusory — we would wait a long time before anything at all would be "removed". The theorem of the comment is applicable rather in the reverse: The world difficulties can only be removed if the movement against remilitarization is conducted energetically and is successful. It is impossible to discover by what other propaganda and "action", resistance movements "outside Germany" are to be "aided" and indispensable allies created, if one does not believe in the magic power of empty declamations.

In the third place, "we Germans" can only contribute *practically* (not illusorily!) in the prevention of the war if we prevent remilitarization, show the majority, suffering under power politics, a *practical* way out, and initiate a development opposite to the development hitherto. In summary: The general nature of the difficulties does not alter the fact that overcoming them in practice must always *begin* at special or concrete points.

3. *Leaflet of the Confessional Church:* "We reject remilitarization of Germany because, with faith in Jesus Christ, we do not hope for help for our people either from foreign military powers or from any military power. — If Germany should be ordered [!] to supply war material it can yield only [!] to force as on the question of dismantling."

*Our "Comment":* "The defence of democratic rights and freedoms for *all* [!] as demanded by the pamphlet is of the greatest significance. But [!] the right of national self-determination for Germany (and other colonies) must be included in these rights. The statement that no help can be expected from foreign military powers needs, as supplement, the demand for the withdrawal of *all* occupation forces and the removal of the veiled military dictatorship which renders any free political and economic development impossible. Here the courageous behavior of Pastor Knees can serve as a model. He, for example, did not react to the dismantling of German factories with a simple [!] 'we must yield to force', but represented the interests of the German people more actively by recommending, in a special [!] appeal, effective methods of passive resistance."

*Correction:* The "but" behind the defence of the democratic rights and freedoms of *all* will have to be taken as a super-clever "but" — as if the defence of the rights and freedoms of *all* were not the defence of *all* rights (thus also the right of self-determination of *all* nations) and the fight against remilitarization were not the struggle of the German people for



the right to decide on it *themselves*. (This demand, by the way, is expressly "included" by the Confessional Church in the correct form of *popular* sovereignty, since they say: "If the democratic constitution of our State is not to become a mere façade, a decision of such gravity as that of rearmament must not be made against the majority of the people.").

Secondly, the statement that no help can be expected from foreign military powers requires no "supplement" at all. It stands solidly by itself; this becomes most clear when one considers "unoccupied" countries whose hopes of help from military powers is exactly as — hopeless as that of Germany. The "supplement" follows rather from the defence of the democratic rights and freedoms of *all*, and, for example, does not end in *Eastern Germany* with the demand for the withdrawal of the occupation troops and the removal of the disguised military dictatorship; concretely speaking, it must be pushed forward there to the dissolution of the "People's Police", removal of the Stalinist minority dictatorship (Quisling government), demilitarization, and removal of war industry.

Thirdly, overzealousness has led to a direct misrepresentation of the wording of the leaflet which does not at all react with a mere "we must yield to force" but declares on the concrete question of the *order* for delivery of war material: Germany *can* yield here *only* to force as in the question of dismantling — just as Pastor Knees, despite all appeals and "recommendations" for more effective methods of passive resistance, finally had to yield, that is, remained powerless in the face of force. However, in the question *which matters here*, (preservation of constitutional rights and the struggle against remilitarization), the leaflet "recommends" active intervention and refusal of war service "regardless of whether the right to do so is secured by the Constitution or not". The brotherhood of the Confessional Church, who stand behind the leaflet, bind themselves to this ("We *refuse*", it is stated), *invite* everyone to do so and give the assurance: "Whoever in consequence of the refusal to be conscripted should suffer injury to person, honour or property can be sure of the intercession and help [!] of the Christian community". This is all that matters — criticism can "only" be raised if the brotherhood of the Confessional Church is disloyal to its voluntarily given obligation and leaves in the lurch those whom it has invited to struggle by the promise of its own firmness and its help. Doubts as to the firmness of the Confessional Church have been expressed by participants in the campaign, (documents in the survey), but that is a question which belongs to another context, and in no way weakens the error in our "comment".

4. *Leaflet of the Confessional Church*: "God in His Judgement gave us social need as our task. In the five years since the collapse we have not solved this task. We are in danger today of escaping from the tackling of the social questions into rearmament. Instead of spending our last pennies on rearmament, we should use them for the solution of the refugee question, housing schemes and aid for training unemployed youths. More urgent for us than rearmament, are the questions of social reform [!], the right of consultation, a balanced price and wage structure and a socially just credit system. . . . The draining of labor power and raw materials into the armaments industry hinders the production of vital consumer

goods and consequently increases our poverty. [An excellent economic recognition! E.Z.] But at the end there is death!"

*Our "Comment":* "The pamphlet is on the right track in indicating that the most urgent task is the *removal of social need*, and it correctly stresses that rearmament prevents the production of necessary consumer goods. Here it proceeds in the direction of a *positive* solution and points to the necessary concrete *alternative*, although it conceives of need as determined by fate and remains satisfied with mere [!] relief measures. But social need is not 'given to us by God as our task'; it is maintained artificially by men and can be overcome on a world scale in the shortest time were there no longer profit production for destruction, but instead, production for human use. It must be shown that, with rational use of the available resources and highly developed productive forces, enough goods can be produced to remove need and make superfluous not only a strengthening of the police force but of the police altogether — and war."

*Correction:* The leaflet is here on the right track (as it was previously!) and indicates the *removal* (in contradistinction to mere "alleviation" as alleged in the next sentence in the comment!) of social need as the *most urgent* (that is, overshadowing everything else) task. It further acknowledges that armament (production for inhuman destruction: "But at the end, there is death!") hinders the production of vital consumer goods — just as if having argued, point for point for reason, *against* the unreason of remilitarization and its war-result ("From remilitarization, in the final analysis, only war is to be expected, and from war nothing [!] but destruction", it is stated at one point) — just as if, against the "clever" comment, it wished to emphasize even more: "It must be shown" that the productive forces will have to find "rational use" and to serve the "social reform" — pardon, if beside the *removal* of social need on "a world scale", I direct my gaze to Germany and "show" how "our last pennies" can immediately be spent here for "alleviation" (refugee question, house-building, etc.)

Everything is in order without comment, but the commentary does not keep to the questions posed in *Germany*, but solves its problems on "a world scale" (or not at all?), and thereby overlooks even the wording of the leaflet and finds a second fly in the ointment. It objects to "need as determined by fate" and disputes that social need "is given to us by God as a task". Thus an ideological difference which is without any significance for the matter is brought to the fore. Though in our opinion correct "in itself", nonetheless the "objection" provides us with material for a small excursion on the theme: "The miraculous transformation of truth, or the preconditions for correct action". If the reciprocal effect between understanding and action is unmistakable; if he who does not act correctly has not understood correctly; if an understanding which does not take immediate *correct* effect is misdirected even as an understanding — then correct understanding still requires so much capacity for generalization on the one hand and so much power of abstraction on the other that already the slightest distortion within otherwise correct understanding can lead to a real game of hide-and-seek and the crassest combinations of truth and error. What is correct in one context becomes then false in another. Truth can (without ceasing to be truth) paralyze correct action just as much as lies and deception; one can act correctly without (entirely or partly) under-

standing correctly, etc., (just as one can understand correctly and — do nothing at all).

For example, remilitarization has been recognized perfectly correctly in the leaflet as an evil, which is accompanied by other evils and cannot produce anything but further evils. The conclusions which are derived from this understanding are equally correct, and *as far as the conclusions go*, correct understanding has had *immediately* correct effects. All this, however, does not guarantee by any means that the Confessional Church *behaves* correctly in practice, remains consistent, is in earnest, or that it will not go astray at some particular point. (Our "comment", having nothing but the leaflet before it and nothing to do but to judge it, unfortunately missed its only occasion to act critically: it should have pointed out that the final conclusions of the Confessional Church "fell short" practically insofar as the most effective means of combatting remilitarization in the given situation, a free plebiscite, had not been considered.)

At the same time, it is *wrong* in our opinion to regard *need as a task given by God*. If one agrees with us in this, then it follows: The Confessional Church had recognized the *evil correctly*, but had gone astray in recognizing its *cause*. Thus though the cause was regarded erroneously, the evil was correctly understood. Conclusion: This one-sided error plays no *practical* role here; its "correction" in this concrete instance was therefore not only superfluous but a — political error.

Our "comment" erred about the nature of the matter with which it was concerned. Indeed, had we found ourselves involved in a discussion of basic *weltanschauung*, or had the Confessional Church attempted to assert that *remilitarization* was "a task given to us by God", a discussion would have been unavoidable. We would then have had to argue against the attempt to make a great evil politically and socially "palatable" by "ideological means".

But as things stand? Do we fight the Stalinists on account of the abstract error in their views and doctrines? No, we fight them because they pursue a reactionary policy, prepare for their bloody minority dictatorship, ruin the movement, impose political silence upon it, seek to falsify its character by impeding political differentiation and by suppressing differences of opinion. But from the other side, namely with the best intentions, our "comment" commits a similar error and wants to impose *ideological* prescriptions on the *popular movement* against remilitarization. It fails to see that popular movements only come into existence and are possible when ideological differences (and particular interests) exist, which, however, form no obstacle for practical policy. While one ought not to suppress *political* differences and *must* struggle over them (only the open struggle of different tendencies advances this differentiation until ultimately the reactionary and progressive tendency stand clearly against each other); to introduce into the discussion ideological questions and particular interests is, *insofar as they do not touch the practical aim, on which, irrespective of other factors, there is agreement*, neither necessary nor desirable. If, in such cases, ideological questions are mentioned (which is a formal error), nevertheless this does not alter the fact that that part of the whole movement which commits this formal mistake has already put these questions into the background

in practice, because they have nowhere been set as a condition for participation.\*

Our "comment" is not content to repeat the same formal error and to mention ideological matters — no, it already commits an *objective* error (in content) in that it polemicizes in the field of pure ideology with a purely practical movement and *imposes* on it (whether it wants to or not) ideological conditions. After it has made "criticisms" which are superficial, beside the point, and false, it comes (polemically) to speak of the need "given by God as a task" and "corrects" it by the statement that it is "artificially maintained by men". For the "comment", it "must be shown" that need can be removed in the shortest time through rational use of productive forces, etc., and it "would be pleased if supporters of the Confessional Church [!] as well as other readers would express themselves on this" (on need maintained artificially by men as against need given by God as a task! — E.Z.). Adopting a position on this point becomes thereby a *condition* for agreement on a practical action. For two reasons this is, even logically, an offence against what is permissible. Firstly, no contradiction at all exists between need as a task given by God and its artificial maintenance by men. A believer could "express" himself on it as follows: "God shows us just by means of the artificiality that he has set us the removal of need as a task" — whereupon we would be no further than we were before. Secondly, idealistic concepts (philosophic idealism, belief in God, etc.) cannot be refuted at all *theoretically* (their real refutation is, regardless of all theoretical expedients, a matter of *practice*). Consistent philosophical materialism and consistent philosophical (objective) idealism are much closer to each other than is generally believed. From *both* points of view one may conceive of "need as prescribed by destiny" and practical agreement may be reached without deciding the basic question. The invitation to express views on this question of need is, accordingly, senseless and should be ignored by supporters of the Confessional Church, so long as the Church has not gone over to attack other ideologies and thereby involves itself in contradictions which require clarification, or misuses ideological matter in order to mislead people and to dupe them politically.

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From this point of view an attack should be made on a document which calls itself "Christian Principles on War and War Services" — a masterly guide in the method of placing other people under tutelage and subjecting them to a "veiled dictatorship". I owe the text of this document to the "Parliamentary Political Press Service", whose "Information Letter No. 94/50, 18 Oct., 1950", came into my hands in a mysterious manner. It will be asked: Why in a *mysterious* manner? Well, because this Press Service is a "secret" service: "Only [!] for personal [!] information of editors-in-chief [!], not for publication [!]." As I am not an editor-in-chief, I cannot explain to myself how this secret Press Service reached me but I can

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\* If the leaflet of the Confessional Church is analyzed, it is strikingly obvious that the statements, referring to religious (ideological) points, are only inessential ideological by-products. The leaflet passes over them practically and turns, without regard to their acknowledgment, to "all", asks "everyone" to work for the practical aim pursued in it.

assume, of course, that the papers, suffering from it, could no longer hold out and expected help from me. Out of an old attachment for a man peddling ethics, morality, "anti-fascist" beliefs, and other precious things, I picture to myself the — social-democratic chief editor *Willi Eichler* and how "only for personal information" he enjoyably immerses himself in the Press Service and elevates himself, through the mechanism of his party, above his fellow editors and the entire people, for whom the Service does not come into question either personally or for information. The editor-in-chief *par excellence* thus reads:

"The following text of the 'Principles' has — as we are informed — been worked out on the instructions of Cardinal Archbishop Frings of Cologne. The connection between him and his controversial Bonn address is manifest. [Archbishop Frings had outlined earlier at Bonn these "Christian Principles on War and War Services".] The Diocesan Committee transmitted these principles to the editors-in-chief [!] close to it with the express request to proceed [!] along these lines in the treatment of the theme, 'war and War Services'. The directive [!] thus corresponds to a clear 'regulation of language' [and such a thing will not be found, thank God, in our dear Social-Democracy which is rather already familiar with the regulation of "information"! — E.Z.].

"The CSU-deputy Kemmer (Bamberg), Diocesan youthleader by profession, declared in this connection that he and numbers of his political [!] friends, who all belong to the Catholic youth movement, have concerned themselves very much with these matters just lately. The recognition [!] prevailed that the conditions [!] had changed considerably in the last few years [in fact, the Allies now *want* German remilitarization, and that alters the conditions not only for the Catholic Church but also for our dear Social-Democracy! — E.Z.] and it was therefore necessary to undertake a revision of the conceptions hitherto [!] advocated with regard to the whole matter. [One calls this a "revision" of "cognitions", valid until yesterday, on the basis of a changed conjuncture in business outlook! — E.Z.] It was regrettable that the Bavarian law on refusal of war service had come into existence with particular support from the Catholic youth movement. [It is always regrettable when the youth is not bound by "regulation of language", irrespective of whether the conceptions *hitherto advocated* on the whole matter were *hitherto* correct or false, for we live in a democracy which has no place for the needs of youth! — E.Z.] A change would also be necessary here [for the "principles" announce that, under certain "conditions", "one" should direct one's conscience "without prejudice and soberly" according to "objective norms of moral theology" and keep oneself nice and decent, ready for the slaughter! — E.Z.].

"It would be opportune also to recall that in the debates of the Parliamentary councils it was just the Catholic spokesmen who took a negative position. Thus it is understandable why, on the question of refusal of war service, nothing has yet been done on the part of the Federal Government. If one will, one can recognize quite clearly in this instance of the diffusion of an idea to the broad masses that a steering [!] by Rome of important developments [!] in the political and economic fields [!] has ensued. To this also belongs, besides the matters just mentioned, the Heinemann case and the attitude of Adenauer and Schuman to the Schuman Plan."

Our beloved Social-Democratic leadership likes to wallow in this swamp of "steering" "not destined for publication" if only because it itself has a secret steering service. Just like Stalinism, they stuff the masses at best with a vulgar "free thinking", but never dare to advance understanding in the political field by uncovering the true connections and ("steered") *important developments in the political and economic fields*. How can parties, which (Stalinism) are themselves arming and involved in the horse-trade about armament (Social-Democracy and Stalinism) permit themselves to refute critically the following passage from "Christian principles on War and War Services"?:

"The opinions of the people on war [please: *The people quite generally!* — E.Z.], especially in our time, move between two opposed poles. One part takes up again the old saying, not wholly [!] false, but yet occasioning misunderstandings and often [!] misused: '*Si vis pacem, para bellum!*' Others believe they will find salvation in the formula: 'Peace at any price! No more war!' Both groups [quite generally: *both groups of the people!* — E.Z.] want peace [that the Catholic Church knows exactly from everyone! — E.Z.], but both endanger it [at least *one* group often intentionally! — E.Z.]. The one because they arouse mistrust [and often in Korea or elsewhere *begin* wars! — E.Z.], the other because they encourage those who prepare aggression [!] [quite as "*para bellum*" expected! — E.Z.]. Both therefore jeopardize the cause of peace without wanting to, exactly at a time when humanity, bowed down with the weight of armaments — shudders at the mere thought of a coming war (Pius XII, No. 21). Both [!] must [!] therefore orient themselves anew on the principles of moral theology and on the doctrines of the Church."

Unfortunately, it is not possible for me to enter into the details of these "principles", washed in all sophistical waters (a "learned" soup which pours over four long typewritten pages). I only ask again: How could the deeply entangled Social-Democratic and Stalinist leaderships permit themselves to retort to the language of the "principles", which is *totalitarian* in the political sense.

People who like such statements may do as they wish, but *parts of humanity*, or simply *the people*, must be permitted to refute the imposition of ideological directives and the command of what they *must* orient themselves by. If the Catholic Church wants to bind us to moral theology and the doctrines of the twelve dozen churches and make it the basis of discussion it can gladly have a debate on the matter. On our part we would then begin the polemic with the statement that we reject moral theology (and which, among the welter of theologies, would that be?) and the doctrines of the Church, in the same manner as their policy and behavior in the last war, especially in the fascist States. The "principles" speak indeed of Churches (plural) but they operate in truth exclusively with *Catholic* doctrines and the "newest" exegeses of the Pope while refuting "several sects" (for example, the Quakers). Into the bargain: The "principles" may take an example from the leaflet of the Confessional Church which, on the same question of war and refusal of war service, adopts an objective, non-totalitarian, democratic, morally unobjectionable point of view and does not attempt to make war service "palatable" to *both* sides by moral theology: a proof, incidentally, that the morality and doctrines



of the churches can be very different and lead *in practice* to different conclusions. The Confessional Church makes known its practical standpoint in its belief in God and Jesus Christ — and that is its good human and democratic right. However, it demands from nobody adherence to the same belief, but *argues* purely objectively — and therein consists its exemplary attitude.

As has been said: The Stalinists and Social-Democrats, deeply entangled in war adventures and “steerings”, cannot allow themselves any argumentation which goes to the roots since this would saw off the branch on which they are sitting. Their intellectual capacity is limited by their practice — the mountain of dirty laundry which would have to be washed in public is enough to restrain them, quite apart from the fact that a single Jesuit would be able to checkmate a whole company of “Labor leaders” in the theoretical field. Be it mentioned finally: A Mr. *Alfred Schulze* signs as responsible for the whole content of the secret “Parliamentary Political Press Service”. Unfortunately I have lost the press cutting according to which this Schulze was arrested or prosecuted. Information about the matter would be welcomed.\*

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Before I come to the last point of your letter: Chance would have it, dear Mrs. R., that while writing these pages, the following letter arrived from your sister via London:

“Dear Sirs,

What my sister writes about better character is nonsense. It is merely repugnant to me to distribute leaflets in which I myself am also attacked and that not where I deserve it but where I am sacrificing time and energy in order to ask people their opinion. I was present only once when the ‘plebiscite’ was in process in a town district but that was enough for me. What we came to hear there I could not stand very often. There was much to swallow not only in the collection of signatures by the Peace Committees but also in that of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Despite that, others go every Sunday to the towns and suburbs, and I have great respect for them. If you like, you can count me also among the ‘most rotten political grouping, the lackeys of Stalin’; I know quite a number of them who are conducting the plebiscite and also the one who directs the action in our region, and I wish I had something of their courage, their perseverance and uprightness, but as I have already said, your leaflet, otherwise [!] so good and so useful, I cannot distribute. A local parson’s widow and a colleague, who sharply reject the S.E.D. and Communism, also did not want to have it because the tone of the passage in question [!] was so displeasing; so please write to my sister where I am to send the pile of leaflets which I got through Mr. T. (and he through J.Z.). My thrift makes it repugnant for me to throw them in the wastepaper basket as my sister said you still had good use for them.

With best greetings, I.R.”

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\* Confirmation was subsequently supplied by a German reader.

Thus, I am in agreement with your sister about the "better character" and I was also correct in the supposition that she is not a "genuine Stalinist". A genuine Stalinist would not have hesitated for a moment to suffocate every better impulse in himself, and to destroy our leaflets instead of taking into consideration the possibilities of our using them. I wish I could revise the judgement about Stalinism for your sister's sake alone, but I think I have made it clear above that the judgement on a sharply outlined party or organization which has a quality of its own, is not always identical to a judgement of the individual members. In the sense of this definite quality one speaks of nazis, capitalists, reactionaries, etc., and — qualifies them *en bloc*. But whoever knows the Nazis not purely by hearsay, knows also that by no means were they all miserable creatures. There were, especially among the youth, many elements motivated by idealism who, with the wretchedness and depravity of the "left" parties as a living reality before their eyes, ran into the arms of the Nazis. They saw them as the embodiment of energetic action, and their hatred of the representatives of the empty phrase, spinelessness and broken promises was as healthy as it was justified. When one spoke to them, much ignorance came to view, and mostly the blissful belief that Hitler would be serious in his fight against capitalist mismanagement. And they were not the only ones who rejected as ridiculous exaggeration and malicious slander the attempt to depict the whole of Nazism as a political abomination hiding behind the "anti-capitalist" demagoguery. As late as the end of 1932 I spoke in Essen to workers' parties and unions against Hitler. After I had pictured dramatically enough what they had to expect in the event of a Nazi victory, one individual expressed the opinion (and I assure you: Tears came into the man's eyes): "The Nazis must not come to power, but it is not possible that they will behave in this way [as I had described! — E.Z.] — it is not at all human."

Or take the capitalists, reactionaries, clerics, etc., who nowhere appear as such "evil" figures as in the propaganda of capitalistic-reactionary-clerical Stalinism. Good God, in private life I have found them on the average to be far more amiable, understanding, human, educated, open-minded, intelligent, tolerant, than, for example, the Labor bureaucrats of all hues. Under the capitalist system the better side of people usually expresses itself only in their private lives. Usually, one finds that among contemporary Labor bureaucrats this better side is weakly developed even in private life, and for that reason the human pettiness and mental narrowness of the Labor bureaucracy has become proverbial. It is not difficult in our time to find industrialists, factory managers, theologians, generals, high judicial officers, scientists, etc., who, disgusted at the senselessness of contemporary life, tell you frankly: "The capitalist system is crazy; if you can replace it by a better one, do it — I will be on your side." But just try to talk to a typical Labor bureaucrat about how problematic his position is, and you will see that the human narrowness is — limitless.

Thus, it is not for us to decide whether your sister belongs to the lackeys of Stalin or not. She must know that herself and, just as in the case of her membership of the "Communist" party I do not regard her as a "genuine" Stalinist — so have I no reason to doubt the *personal* courage, the perseverance and uprightness of those persons by whom she is impressed. If she

feels herself "included" in our attack she must still understand that the attack is not made because she sacrifices time and energy in asking people for their opinions. Nor is it our policy, dear Mrs. R., to tell you what to do or to advise you to give up the "personal contact with the most valuable Communists". Not we but you "must do as you wish", regardless of whether it is on a basis of personal friendship or "in order not to harden the fronts".

We attack the Stalinists because they want to misuse the inquiry into opinions for their own aims, alien to the people, and in other respects they even prevent people from *speaking* their real opinion at all. At a meeting in Bochum, for instance, a man who is a member of the Centre Party and the Wessel-Heinemann Association was to speak. The Stalinist in charge of arrangements imposed on him the *condition* of keeping silent about the East. Thereupon the man rightly withdrew his promise to appear as a speaker and — the struggle against remilitarization itself suffered by that.

The Stalinists behave in this and in infinitely worse ways whereas we not only want to find out the genuine opinions of other people but (as you will see continually in our periodicals) we also quote and discuss them openly. Is it in a certain respect revealing that your sister can name two people who were so displeased "only" by the tone of the passages "in question" in our leaflet that they would not accept it (which was otherwise so good and so useful)? Fortunately we are able to supply you below with an abundance of evidence that other people either took no notice of such a detail and kept to the matter at hand, or else commented favorably on it as furthering the struggle. I want to reproduce here only what Pastor R. Daur, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, whom you mentioned, wrote to us:

"Stuttgart, July 16, 1951.

I received from a friend the leaflet, 'Gegen die Remilitarisierung'. It is excellent. May I ask for 10 more copies for distribution?

With friendly greetings

Yours,

R. Daur."

You perceive from the contrast how relative and meaningless in itself is all criticism which refers to "tone" and ignores content. The same is true of all merely formal judgements or objections, e.g., also your "formal tip": "The polemical tone of the earlier style finds hardly a purchaser in Germany today. On the whole I agree with the reasons for this. You can with impunity be even much sharper in the objective fields, polemically something much more tame will not [1] be taken."

It is not clear to what you are referring here, what you understand by the polemical tone of the earlier style, and what are the reasons you agree with, "on the whole". In any event, it is indisputable that we polemicize a great deal, at times polemicize very sharply, and still nobody has demonstrated to us that we have quitted the *objective sphere*. There are individuals who have complained about our polemics — it would be stupid and mendacious to try to hush it up. But your assertion that polemics on our part, even though much milder, would be hardly or *not* at all accepted, is an untenable generalization. In reality both our sharp and our "mild"

polemics have won whole-hearted and enthusiastic applause among the overwhelming majority of readers, and that both inside and outside Germany. The reason for this, in my opinion, is that the polemical key always distinguishes itself, irrespective of style, by being sharp and clear as to *content* — for example: Stalinism is the most rotten political grouping. If, dear Mrs. R., you have *this* key in mind, in the first place you yourself acknowledged that it could “only help”, and in the second place, you will hear below a “symphony of agreement” with the same polemic, because we correctly characterized the matter at hand. As long as it is not proved to us *why* our verdict is false or unjustified, we will insist on it because we can give extensive *reasons* for it. We say to the Stalinists with complete composure: Refute us and — then we will give you full satisfaction.

You see from all this how careful one has to be with generalizations if one does not simply want to pass off one's personal feelings and moods for those of all others.

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The last point consists of your questions: “What is the purpose of your leaflet? To create the great platform of agreement and resistance to rearmament? What are you doing to that end? Contemporary Press, in the words of Dr. R., becomes interesting only if it understands how, and tries, to merge itself into something greater. *What concretely is to be done and by whom?* Whoever merely rejects remilitarization puts the Eastern as well as the Western militarists in the right.”

To begin with the last sentence. I cannot understand how one places the militarists on both sides “in the right” if one merely rejects remilitarization. Rather, it seems to me that he who operates on the Stalinist line places the *Western* militarists in the wrong, and that he who operates on the correct line against East and West places the militarists on *both* sides in the *wrong*. In this sense, our leaflet aims, in the first place, at nothing but to advance the struggle against remilitarization to the best of our ability on the *correct basic line* and to decide it by a referendum, the implementation of which (in the wording of our leaflet) “every opponent of remilitarization everywhere must work for energetically”. It is just this aim that the most varied organizations and individuals have pursued with leaflets, memoranda, open letters, individual agitation, etc., and the united efforts of all have actually brought about in large measure that which lay in the nature of the rightly-understood matter: *The common platform of agreement and resistance against rearmament on both sides*. This was a marvellous co-operation of the most varied tendencies for one single aim. From the “survey” below it emerges clearly that every participant welcomed the others as friends in the struggle, readily accepted the pronouncements of the others, distributed them in the interests of the cause, was happy about new voices, etc. Likewise it was the nature of the case that the only exceptions were the Stalinists who, assisting an abominable system, were bound to quarrel about their paltry party purposes, distribute only that which “fitted in”, and for the rest had to sabotage.

Your question as to what *we* are now going to do towards creating a platform of agreement and resistance against *rearmament* is therefore a little off the point. All that one can do in the first stage of the struggle

against rearmament consists in mobilizing public opinion for the implementation of a referendum. This mobilization and everything required for organizational measures "is to be done" (if I may express myself thus) by all interested groups, organizations, committees, etc., and in this we have had no small share, not only through the activity of our friends in Germany and through our leaflet, but also through years of propagandistic preparatory work. As far as our leaflet in particular is concerned, it has (see the survey) been put to varied use and has been requested in such quantities that we could only cover an infinitesimal fraction of the demand with 40,000 copies (fortunately friends inside Germany have come to our assistance with a reprint of a special publication). And so the question, by *whom* (insofar as we imagine or desire it) something concrete is to be done, answers itself thus: If already possible, by the whole people — if not yet possible, then by all who have insight and are ready to act accordingly to their understanding.

It only remains to investigate your assertion referring to the merging of Contemporary Press into something greater. Much could be said about that, but I shall limit myself as much as possible and begin with the statement that Contemporary Press (that is, *Dinge der Zeit* and *Contemporary Issues*) was designed from the first to be merged into something greater. In the editorial note to the first number we presented ourselves as *initiators* of the world organization for a democracy of *content* (sharply differentiated from hitherto existing purely political or formal democracy) which is *not* to appear as a finished organization, but to *arise* under public control. We have expressly added: More (than *initiators*) we cannot be.

One has to know this declaration (for this reason we have repeated it several times) and keep it well in mind if one wants to understand and rightly judge our activity in order not to shoot blindly. It represents a program (strangely enough: *without* imposing programmatic prescriptions) and expresses, with "arising under public control", in the first place the obligation to investigate every proposal — whether concerned with merging or with something else — publicly, with respect to its feasibility. As long as direct proposals for a *transformation* have not been submitted to us, everything else assumes compulsorily the form of critique of our *views* and our *activity*, or is a proposal for the enlargement of our activity in any field (as, for example, the proposal of Mrs. A. to issue a leaflet on remilitarization). In any case the "arising under public control" remains completely secured if *everything* relating to the movement is public and publicly *treated* — in one word: if there is neither organizationally nor politically nor ideologically nor in respect of criticism against ourselves, any secret. Therefore our editorial note said: "The meaning of substantive democracy, then, is not 'decreed' beforehand from above, but will be presented as a view for which one assumes responsibility and which can be renounced only after full discussion and accounting".\*

\* Consider under this angle the accounting of our mistake toward the Confessional Church and Mrs. A. (two other cases concerning the English publication may be found in its pages) and you will understand what I mean. But observe that we have no mind at all for that repugnant perversity which is (under *Stalin*) called "bolshhevik" self-criticism. The mistake of a hitherto advocated view will be, with indication of the decisive reasons or arguments, corrected and —

How we have pursued these and other principles and statements in practice is subject to immediate examination in our periodicals. But we know that even the best intentions and principles, in themselves, mean little. At a certain point, which was determined in the course of the development and the discussion themselves, we have therefore submitted the already mentioned organizational plan ("The Great Utopia"), which leaves us in practice only two possibilities: The execution of our principles and declarations or — disappearance from the scene. The discussion about this plan goes on already for over two years and to examine it critically is, under all circumstances, the duty of those who suggest to us the "merging into something greater". Strict with ourselves, we must insist for others on clarity of thought and demand that the "greater" be shown to us. In order to be well understood I repeat: The organization (or party) for a democracy of content which we intend to call into existence, and indeed have already called into existence, is designed from the beginning to merge into something greater and, moreover, in such a fashion that (a) "the most significant consequence of this is the direct connection and even the coalescence of the party with the masses"; (b) in it, through the elimination of the bureaucracy, the professionally fixed competition and division of labor, "true social equality is established, because all places and manners of activity are interchangeable in principle"; (c) it "excludes by its structure any possibility of reification (i.e., of becoming an end in itself) and continuously cancels itself out as a party", i.e., that it is a party and, simultaneously, *not*.

Why this is so, in our opinion, can only be understood through a profound study of the reflections and organizational measures laid down in "The Great Utopia" — it is the unconditional duty of all those who think about something "greater" and speak to us in its name to demonstrate exactly why all this is *not so* and of what the greater consists. The discussion round "The Great Utopia" is not yet concluded and it shall remain open to criticism (as everything with us) even after its formal conclusion. I cannot, dear Mrs. R., recommend to you urgently enough to follow this discussion attentively, provided that you (as I have reason to believe) care for — correct cognition.

As for the practical side of the matter, I would like to point out that you will find nothing in our periodicals nor in our whole activity which contradicts the character of the organization for a democracy of content as it has been outlined above. Persons who stand completely outside but want to criticize us or to discuss a question, are received without prejudice, are, without ado, put into the role of "leader", can take the floor as often as they wish (according to the importance of the issue, we postpone other matters for their sake), are not differently treated than we ourselves, etc.

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that is all. And so excellently, at least up to now, has our method of working functioned that discussion and accounting could always coincide and the simple correction was sufficient for the whole procedure. But even if it should one day come to longer disputes and "votes" in order to determine the majority — of self-castigation, "confessions", with ensuing declarations of penitence, etc., you will not find a trace and such a trace would have to be immediately regarded as a sign of degeneration and be eradicated. Infallible are only the Pope and Stalin — we other humans have a right to err.



Mrs. A., who had only read some numbers of *Dinge der Zeit*, needs only to submit a proposal to us and immediately assumes the position of a counsellor and determines the direction of our activity which, to determine elsewhere, is only permitted to "the editorial staff" or the bureaucrats. In a given people's movement (and true people's movements are, in contradistinction to movements handled by so-called mass parties, *always* progressive) we act only as a part of this movement itself, directly identical with it, are not distinguished from it by special claims and side-points, and adhere to it *unconditionally*.

In this and in other ways, in this and in other connections, we realize the principles which we have laid down and achieve a congruence of theory and practice, word and deed, which is without example in the history of organizations. We naturally do not deny that what distinguishes us can be found occasionally (if it is just "opportune") in other organizations too. But with us it is a solidly anchored *system*: it is the *dominating quality* and *always* there; it springs from the nature of an organization which cannot reify itself but strives constantly towards self-dissolution and melts together with the masses however high it stands, in theoretical respects, above the mass consciousness; it is due to an inherent mechanism which precludes "substantial aberrations", i.e., *enforces* by its peculiar function, at a certain point, insight into and correction of a committed error, albeit by eventually rendering the organization unable to live, pushing the correction to the point of destroying the organization.

You will understand, dear Mrs. R., that we have here to deal with an attempt and with values which cannot be brushed aside with a simple movement of the hand. On the indicated foundations, under the greatest external difficulties, we exist already for five years — always open to all problems, always ready for expansion, without a trace of philistinism or sectarianism, without a trace of ivory tower asceticism. If we are, for some people, not "interesting" at all or become so for others only under specific conditions, misplaced modesty cannot prevent us from making the truthful statement: For many others we are extremely interesting, enjoy great prestige and confidence and, on the basis of our total attitude, also the esteem of sceptics and outspoken opponents, scoundrel opponents naturally excluded. Nothing can be more welcome to us than a thorough discussion of the greater (thought of or already existing) into which we shall merge. We hope that you and Dr. R. will help us to this discussion which can only be of the greatest usefulness at a time when innumerable people search desperately for a way out and for clarity on the best form of organization.

The basic defect of numerous groups and currents existing in Germany consists, in my opinion, in the fact that not one (as far as I could see) has dealt with the organizational problem in such a way as is, on the one hand, required by the historical experience with the traditional forms and, on the other, by the totally altered conditions and the world economic situation. There is "a lot of life in the house" and much good-will, but mostly little mental capital and capacity to go to the root. The smallest splinter of thought and the least pretext often suffice to form an "independent" group, to found an "own" periodical, an "own" little paper — nearly all *begin* with the financial question and the worry of constructing an apparatus without which they cannot "make headway". It is the well-known pheno-

menon of atomization in bourgeois society — innumerable big and small recipes (sometimes very grotesque) but no solid foundations. In short: Which one, of all the German and even international organizations or currents, has an historical right to existence and into which greater we shall merge — that remains the question which must be discussed seriously by all serious people under the careful scrutiny of all existing rudiments and “universally” oriented tendencies.

A few words only about your communication on “reaction to the prohibition of the ‘Stalinist’ plebiscite”. Whether a “Communist”, a Stalinist front organization or any other organization initiates an action — we oppose in any case, *in principle*, the curtailing of democratic rights and distinguish ourselves therewith, once more, sharply from the Stalinists and certain liberals who cannot do enough in police persecution of those who think differently. In spite of the fact that the Stalinists harvest only what they have sown and continue to sow every day, the Washington witch-trials are not better than those staged in Moscow, Prague, Budapest, Zagreb, etc. It goes thus without saying that we stand completely on the side of Parson Daur and the students of Göttingen who oppose and reject the prohibition of the plebiscite. Highest praise also to the German judges who exculpated those arraigned in consequence of this prohibition. Please, dear Mrs. R., make our standpoint known as widely as possible. *Carte blanche* to all who protest against an injustice to add our voice to theirs.

\*

Best greetings and wishes to you, your sister (thanks for her letter) and your friends.

Yours sincerely,  
ERNST ZANDER.

### Yale or Caius ?

Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, said yesterday when addressing the Cambridge Union Society, of which he was made an honorary member, that the periods he had spent in prison — amounting to ten years — had served a useful purpose in instilling the capacity for unheated reasoning.

“It has done me a lot of good. It compelled me to think, and to get into the habit of calm consideration, which is helpful in this world in which such a consideration is rapidly vanishing. Although I cannot suggest that you should try to go to prison, I assume a lot of people would benefit from that experience.” (*Times*, 11th February, 1955.)

Leo Spira, M.D., Ph.D. (Med.)

## IS THE FLUORINE FOUND IN SOME WATERS REALLY "NATURAL" AND "ORGANIC"?

IN support of fluoridating public water supplies it has been asserted that, since the inhabitants in an area with a drinking water containing what was called "natural" fluorine showed no signs of disease, it was safe to add the chemical substance to a water which was deficient in fluorine, so as to give the children up to the age of eight years a chance of reduced dental decay. What was first called "natural" was soon given the name of "organic" fluorine compound. There being, according to them, no difference in the action of organic and inorganic fluorine compounds, the proponents of fluoridation concluded that there is not the slightest risk in adding the inorganic compound up to the limit set by themselves of 1.2 parts per million (p.p.m.).

In my recently published book *The Drama of Fluorine: Arch-enemy of Mankind*, I have pointed out that it is not correct to say that people ingesting toxic amounts of fluorine which is called "natural" or "organic" just because it is present in the water in variable quantities without its having been added deliberately show no signs of ill-health. These people do complain of constipation and excessive gas formation in the stomach and intestine, of "athlete's foot" and other skin eruptions, of loss of hair and brittle nails, of disturbance of pigmentation of the skin, of neuralgiae and mental instability, and of a number of other signs and symptoms of a chronic condition which, up to a certain extent, is not severe enough to entail suffering. It is there nevertheless, and sooner or later the time will come when, on continued ingestion of the poison, those as yet relatively mild complaints will cause illness.

The question whether the organic fluorides act in the same manner as the inorganic fluorides is not settled. In any case, it is beside the point in any discussion of the problem of fluoridation. Some research workers believe that the inorganic fluorides are the more toxic of the two; others state that the organic compounds exert a highly toxic action on the central nervous system, producing paralysis in certain parts of the spinal cord, as well as severe damage to the internal organs. Still others found that organic fluorides are extremely toxic, their main action consisting in suppressing a certain enzyme found in nervous tissue.

Be it as it may, this is not an issue to be decided by the lay public, who are content to leave the final conclusion to science. If introduced by ignorant propaganda for the purpose of catching supporters for fluoridation, it is unpardonable; if presented to the lay public by those who know (or should know) better, it is irresponsible. It is sufficient to recall that, as every junior student of chemistry knows, the only criterion of whether a chemical substance is organic or inorganic is constituted by its chemical

composition. No large-scale tests have so far been carried out to determine whether the fluorine present in those waters was organic or inorganic.

Let us, however, assume that, as the fluoridators assert, there is no difference between the actions of these two forms of fluorides; we will find that the matter does not rest there. It is, of course, possible that the fluorine called "natural", because it was present in the drinking water in many parts of the country without its having been added deliberately, was in fact natural. It may have been derived from the soil itself, the clay, lime, chalk, etc., forming the bed of the water which came in contact with it in the course of the water's journey through the soil. Let us, however, examine some other waters in which fluorine occurs and see if its presence is always "natural".

In my book mentioned above, I described a few experiments which I had carried out whilst serving in the British Army during the recent war, long before there was any question of fluoridation of the public water supplies. It occurred to me that since mottling of the teeth, which is universally accepted as the first external visible sign of chronic fluorine poisoning, was found to be widespread all over Great Britain, the fluorine in the water might not necessarily always be derived from the soil. If it were, hardly any large-scale water supply could be regarded as safe, judging from the wide distribution of "mottled teeth". I summarily rejected various unfounded theories about the mysterious, supernatural origin of the fluorine in the water; and I also set aside the scepticism born of many years' unsuccessful searching for the source of this highly potent poison. Instead, it seemed to me an interesting proposition to try to find out whether the presence in the water of toxic amounts of fluorine was perhaps, after all, not always an act of God but sometimes one of civilized man. Such considerations suggested an investigation into the question whether the fluorine found in some waters has not been added, without ulterior motive, between the source and the tap from which the water is drawn for drinking and cooking purposes.

Only in a part of the country is the drinking water derived from public water supplies. In rural areas, methods of purification vary according to the regulations issued by the local authorities, and it consists of three stages. Drawn from rivers, lakes, ponds, etc., the water is first submitted to a process of coagulation and sedimentation of organic material contained therein by the addition of alum. This is followed by filtration carried out by means of a powder, a manufactured product of a mineral which contains an aluminium compound as a basic constituent. In the third stage, the water is sterilized by the addition of a powder containing chlorine.

Analysis of the materials employed in the process of purification revealed that samples of the filter powder contained as much as 68 p.p.m. and 120 p.p.m. respectively, and the water-sterilizing powder 39 p.p.m. of fluorine. No doubt at least part of these large quantities of the poison must have been absorbed into the drinking water. In the course of boiling hard water, the fluorine content has been found to go into the fur forming at the bottom of the utensil and lining the pipes of a hot water system.

Some of the materials used for mixing cement or concrete, which is often employed for building up deep wells and water storage tanks, are also heavily contaminated by fluorine. It is reasonable to conclude that a drink-

ing water kept for any length of time in such reservoirs will likewise become contaminated.

Other water storage tanks are made of iron. On one occasion I came across a drinking water, reputed to have come from a highly chalky stratum. It was derived from an Artesian well about 200 feet deep, and pumped into an iron reservoir. Its fluorine content was 2.4 p.p.m., but a fragment taken from the stratum of the soil close to the well contained only negligible quantities of fluorine. It must, therefore, be concluded that the toxic amounts of fluorine which have been found in the water were derived not from the chalk, but from the pipe sunk into the well or from the storage tank or from both. Reliable information was obtained to the effect that the water in question has never been chemically treated at all.

This conclusion as to the iron pipes and iron storage tanks being another potential source of fluorine in the drinking water has been strengthened in a different part of the country. A main water supply with a fluorine content of 0.4 p.p.m. was tapped off by means of old iron pipes, which were recovered from bombed houses, to feed a newly laid military camp. A few weeks later, as the construction of the camp was progressing, this branch supply was extended by means of old pipes, which were rusty and corroded. Analysis of the water drawn from the first section revealed a concentration of as much as 1.4 p.p.m., and that of the extension one of not less than 2 p.p.m. of fluorine. It was obvious that the increase of the fluorine content in the water within the camp was caused by its contact with the iron pipes. It is a well-established fact that fluorine frequently accompanies many raw materials, minerals, metals, etc.

To classify the fluorine in the drinking water which in its course between the source and the tap came in contact with such reservoirs and pipes as "natural" or "organic" is wrong. The employment, in the process of purification, of materials contaminated by fluorine is likewise tantamount to fluoridation, which is carried out in certain communities in this country [i.e., America].

It is desirable that the iron and cement used in the manufacture of water storage tanks and pipes in this country [i.e., America] should be examined, with a view to determining whether they are less harmful than are those employed in Great Britain, and whether they are completely free from fluorine.

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### And Now Synthetic Honey?

VALHELHAS, Portugal, Tuesday. Beekeepers in Valhelhas — an area famous for its honey — have complained to the National Forestry Department that insecticide sprayed on pine trees is killing their bees.—AP.

# MATERIAL AND DOCUMENTS

**I. NUCLEAR PHYSICS** — *On the cumulative effects produced by thermonuclear explosions on the surface of the globe*, by M. Charles-Noël Martin, presented by M. Louis de Broglie.\*

*Thermonuclear explosions have effects of an order which, taken on a terrestrial scale, are not negligible. Various cumulative effects are studied, of chemical, radioactive, and climatic type. These phenomena are irreversible, and the equilibrium of certain planetary and biological characteristics becomes compromised beginning at a threshold attained with several dozen explosions. Various experimental tests are suggested.*

The complexity of the physical phenomena set into motion subsequent to the explosion of a fission bomb or a thermonuclear bomb far exceeds the reach of theoretical methods currently available for calculating their effects with precision. Nevertheless, it is possible to assign an order of magnitude to a set of numerical values related to those phenomena which seem the most transparent. A scientific study of these phenomena is motivated by the significance taken on by recent series of tests of thermonuclear devices, because certain of their effects are of a terrestrial order of magnitude and may possibly bring about, if they continue to accumulate, consequences which are particularly serious, even dramatic. These consequences are of four principal types.

**1. CHEMICAL CONSEQUENCES** — Professor A. Debierne\*\* had already discussed the formation of nitric acid by a reaction between the nitrogen and the oxygen in the air, in four notes published even before the first experimental explosions at Bikini (of which there have now been about sixty). The nitrous oxide gas  $\text{NO}$ , which gives a reddish color to the mushroom cloud, forms  $\text{NO}_2$  [nitric oxide — Tr.] and then  $\text{NO}_3\text{H}$  [nitric acid — Tr.] when combined with the water vapor in the air. In this way, a 20 megaton bomb can form  $5 \cdot 10^5$  tons of  $\text{NO}$  gas. Since the mass of the terrestrial atmosphere is  $5 \cdot 10^{15}$  tons, the effect is of the order of  $10^{-10}$  [one in 10 thousand million — Tr.], and thus appears negligible from the point of view of the masses involved. But it is not so at all because the quantity of nitric acid subsequently formed, if assumed to be uniformly distributed throughout the whole mass of atmosphere up to an altitude of 10 kilometres, gives  $2 \cdot 10^9$  [two thousand million — Tr.] molecules per cubic centimetre. This calculation neglects the later formation of  $\text{NO}_3\text{H}$  due to ionization by radioactive isotopes and the action of (radioactive) dust. The dissolution of this acid results in a diminution of the pH [a numerical measure of acidity — Tr.] of rainwater,\*\*\* which may go to 5 and above for showers covering many hundreds of square kilometres a short time after the explosion. It is known that beginning at a certain pH value the metabolism of plants may undergo a complete disorganization.

\* Translated from the 15th November, 1954, number of the *Comptes Rendus* of the French Academy of Science.

\*\* *Comptes Rendus*, v. 222, 1946, pp. 1124 and 1352.

\*\*\* Our attention was called to the variation of the pH of rainwater by M. Jacques Bergier.



2. CLIMATIC EFFECTS — Explosions on the ground tear up a quantity of matter of the order of a billion tons of which the largest part is sent about 30-40 kilometres into the stratosphere. The mushroom extends over 200 kilometres at a mean altitude of 18 kilometres with a thickness of six kilometres. This quantity of matter, which amounts to only  $10^{-7}$  [one ten-millionth — Tr.] of the total mass of the atmosphere, becomes diluted rapidly, but only falls back very slowly, and is able to travel many times around the world. The climatic effects are evident: partial interception of solar radiation; local floods caused by heavy rains on the passage of fragments of the mushroom cloud carrying condensation nuclei, radioactive ions, and dust; disturbance of the normal wind-pattern by the local disequilibrium of the processes of evaporation and the variation of mean temperature.

3. RADIOACTIVE EFFECTS — A large number of gamma-emitting isotopes [that is, gamma-ray emitting — Tr.] with long half-lives [i.e., decay periods — Tr.] (ranging from a few days to many years) are produced; in particular, an important quantity of C14 [Carbon 14, the radioactive form or "isotope" of carbon — Tr.] by the (n,p) reaction with the nitrogen of the air. The mechanism by which carbon products are thoroughly distributed and subsequently absorbed by all living beings is well known. The distribution of C14, which has a half-life of 5,600 years, thus necessarily implies several years of definite augmentation of the current level of 15 disintegrations per minute per gram in "living" carbon.

Furthermore, there can be observed at the surface of the earth a slight variation of secondary cosmic radiation brought about by the appreciable increase in the density of matter in the rarefied part of the stratosphere between 20 and 40 kilometres.

4. GENETIC EFFECTS — In this field, which is also poorly understood, it seems that a variation, even though small, in the natural level of environmental radiation would cause important and irreversible long term effects. Experimental evidence is apparently being acquired just now.

To summarize: in the past two years there have taken place approximately 10 H-bomb explosions, the energy of which varies between 3 and 50 megatons, which is to say, the equivalent of 1,000-2,500 "classical" atomic bombs of the Hiroshima-Bikini type. The phenomena set into motion far exceed the possibilities of experimental laboratory investigation, and involve a quite appreciable fraction of the planet. A certain number of the processes brought about in the atmosphere are irreversible and may cause an increasing disequilibrium in the natural conditions to which the biological kingdom has slowly become adapted. Any increase in the number of explosions would cause effects according to a law which is not necessarily linear.

At this time one ought to be able to show experimental evidence for the following effects:

1. Local variations in the pH of rain, of the order 5-7.
2. A very distinct increase of the Carbon 14 level, of the order of 10-30 per cent.
3. An increase, difficult to evaluate, probably weak, in the intensity of secondary cosmic radiation at sea level.
4. A decrease in the intensity of solar radiation.

5. An anarchic pattern of rainfall, whose local distribution over the whole globe it would be interesting to survey as a function of time.

6. Observation of the absorption band of nitric acid in the light of the sky.

7. The presence of numerous radioactive elements with very long half-life in the air. In particular, the presence of Iron 59 [the radioactive form of ordinary iron, no. 58 — Tr.] with a half-life of 47 days, due to the reaction (n, gamma) undergone by the stable iron isotope 58 in the metallic envelope of the devices.

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## 2. ATOMIC POWER STATIONS

Dear Mr. Maxwell,

Apropos of your request for independent views on the latest Government proposals to start the erection of twelve atomic power stations in this country within the next few years, I regard it as mad. The ancients had a proverb that those the gods wished to destroy they first made, and H. G. Wells bitingly satirized the scientific civilization he lived in, long prior to the artificial release of atomic energy, as having presented a case of loaded revolvers to a Malay running amok. But this last bit of information raises the whole question as to whether a country ruled as we are can hope to survive the perils that lie ahead. We have in plenty soporific assurances that such power stations can neither effect the weather nor the health of the population. Whereas what is wanted is a fleet of airplanes, manned by impartial and competent observers with radioactive measuring instruments to determine the extent of atmospheric pollution which does occur in the neighbourhood of such factories. True we have the tall Sellafield chimneys that appear on the cover page of *Atomic Factories* reproduced in a Sunday paper with the caption stating that the filters at the top prevent the escape of the last traces of radioactive matter, which to a chemist sounds an impossible feat, and to everyone else raises the unanswerable question as to why, if that is true, they waste our money building them. It would be a better way of convincing the public that all's right with the world if some of those making such statements were sent up to the top of the smoke-stacks to show they can continue to breath the air there and live.

FREDERICK SODDY.

February 22nd, 1955.

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# CORRESPONDENCE

## 1. THE PIONEERS OF RADIOACTIVITY

To the Editor of *Contemporary Issues*

Dear Sir,

In his otherwise valuable article in your issue No. 20 — "Experiment in Annihilation", Supplement, Part 1, p. 241 — the author follows the usual false history of the subject in making it appear that Einstein played a large part in influencing the development of radioactivity. He says:

"Surely the early investigators could not dream of the development that was to unfold in the next half-century from these beginnings. In particular the equivalence of mass and energy . . . implied that vast quantities of energy are latent in even a small mass."

I beg to point out that long before anyone had heard of the equivalence of mass and energy, or the interpretation in that sense of Hasenöhl's equation, which he ascribes to Einstein, it was all over except the shouting. For example in 1903, I, now the only pioneer on the subject still alive, was writing articles about it in the Literary Supplement of *The Times*. In my *Interpretation of Radium*, 1908, in which Einstein is not mentioned, I wrote:

"A race that could transmute matter could transform a desert continent, thaw the frozen poles and make the whole world a smiling Garden of Eden."

The fact that the energy liberated in the natural transmutation of the radio-elements, uranium and thorium, exceeded by a million-fold the energy of ordinary chemical change was established by Curie and Laborde on the one hand, and Ramsay and myself on the other in 1903.

In 1914, just before the First World War, H. G. Wells wrote a book *The World Set Free*, which he dedicated to my *Interpretation of Radium* foretelling the certain prostitution of the newly found energy to war with his customary brilliance. The earliest interpretation of the Hasenöhl equation as possibly signifying the internal energy of matter, so far as I have been able to trace it, was by Sir J. J. Thomson in his Romanes Lecture at Oxford in 1914. It was only after Aston's brilliant experimental work, after the Second World War, on the exact atomic masses of the non-radioactive individual isotopes, that the theorem assumed importance. The fact of the existence in the atoms of a million-fold greater quantity of energy than ever before liberated dates from 1903-4, and thus preceded Einstein's Theory of Relativity.

FREDERICK SODDY.

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## 2. THE HYDROGEN BOMB

December 2nd, 1954.

To the Editor of *Contemporary Issues*.

Dear Sir,

. . . I am glad to say I have nothing but praise for your magazine, the article in No. 20 on the Hydrogen Bomb experiments being recommended to me by a friend in France, and which I have since recommended to many

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I beg to point out that long before anyone had heard of the equivalence of mass and energy, or the interpretation in that sense of Hasenöhl's equation, which he ascribes to Einstein, it was all over except the shouting. For example in 1903, I, now the only pioneer on the subject still alive, was writing articles about it in the Literary Supplement of *The Times*. In my *Interpretation of Radium*, 1908, in which Einstein is not mentioned, I wrote:

"A race that could transmute matter could transform a desert continent, thaw the frozen poles and make the whole world a smiling Garden of Eden."

The fact that the energy liberated in the natural transmutation of the radio-elements, uranium and thorium, exceeded by a million-fold the energy of ordinary chemical change was established by Curie and Laborde on the one hand, and Ramsay and myself on the other in 1903.

In 1914, just before the First World War, H. G. Wells wrote a book *The World Set Free*, which he dedicated to my *Interpretation of Radium* foretelling the certain prostitution of the newly found energy to war with his customary brilliance. The earliest interpretation of the Hasenöhl equation as possibly signifying the internal energy of matter, so far as I have been able to trace it, was by Sir J. J. Thomson in his Romanes Lecture at Oxford in 1914. It was only after Aston's brilliant experimental work, after the Second World War, on the exact atomic masses of the non-radioactive individual isotopes, that the theorem assumed importance. The fact of the existence in the atoms of a million-fold greater quantity of energy than ever before liberated dates from 1903-4, and thus preceded Einstein's Theory of Relativity.

FREDERICK SODDY.

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## 2. THE HYDROGEN BOMB

December 2nd, 1954.

To the Editor of *Contemporary Issues*.

Dear Sir,

. . . I am glad to say I have nothing but praise for your magazine, the article in No. 20 on the Hydrogen Bomb experiments being recommended to me by a friend in France, and which I have since recommended to many

others. We are in such a state of extreme danger with these new forces in ignorant or baleful hands that any publicity, outside the official mealy-mouthed exponents, is very welcome. Also I enjoyed and agreed even more with the Open Letter to Lindemann [Lord Cherwell], which stated inexorably what almost everyone must be thinking.

I would only emphasize, from my own point of view, that these matters should be kept so far as possible outside the realm of party politics altogether, as once Tweedledum and Tweedledee monopolize them, the public get suspicious and lose interest.

Yours sincerely,

FREDERICK SODDY.

Litta Parodi,  
Alessandria, Italy.  
November 29th, 1954.

To the Editor of *Contemporary Issues*.

Sir,

I am in possession of (1) your circular letter 28.9.54; (2) a copy of your review you kindly added to the circular.

To-day I read in *La Stampa* an article (printed in the first page). I send you that article to prove my interest to the campaign against *every experiment concerning atomic bombs*.

In the first days of December I shall work with my friends in order to propagate this movement.

Afterwards you will receive a writing of mine.

The section CORRESPONDENCE must grow up and it must comprise many reports of meetings and similar things . . . according my humble point of view.

Yours faithfully,

C. DAGLIO.

### 3. THE JAPANESE EXPROPRIATIONS

Topanga, Calif.  
December 16, 1952.

Contemporary Press,  
545 Fifth Ave.

Gentlemen:

By your favor I am in receipt of No. 12 of the Anglo-American Quarterly [*Contemporary Issues*], which I have looked at with interest. Before pursuing the question of soil treatment broached in your note I beg to refer to the contained article on the treatment of Japanese in the concentration camps during the War.

I was in California throughout the War — was your writer? We had and continue to have a number of Japanese friends. We have never heard any reminiscence of mistreatment or injustice. The concentration of Japanese civilians, accomplished within a matter of hours after the attack of Pearl Harbor, could not be otherwise than "injustice" to innocent people among them, and you were asking too much in the face of the indignation



at that moment if there were no instances of mistreatment. I have never learned of any, from Japanese or others.

We visited concentration camps and friends incarcerated in them freely and without constraint. One of these friends held a responsible position there. There were comfortable quarters and space for children to play and facilities for exercise. Farming and other activity was provided for anywhere possible, without constraint. Teachers, medical and other care, were sent to them; and there were numerous volunteer workers who gave their time and energy to their welfare. We know some personally.

We have visited Japanese friends on their farms after the war — land which was saved from forced sale or other predatory forms of opportunism by an alien property custodian.

It must be remembered that many of these civilians were not citizens. If it is suggested that the "spy" stories were factitious propaganda; then let me say that from 1907 on I had personally known at first hand, of Japanese civilians living here among us who genuinely were spies. Some of these were later apprehended. Some I learned of from Japanese friends; and there were many in ostensible occupations who were found to be other than they seemed. Any resident here can have encountered through the years this or that laundryman, gardener, merchant, who was in reality a highly educated man, and who was shown to be a center of influence other than loyal friendship to his host country.

We say this all in charity. The War is over, and so are the conditions obtaining before it; so let it be forgotten. There are no shameful spots left behind on my country in its treatment of resident aliens, or in its handling of a dangerous and complicated problem at a time of emergency such as that.

I am, yours sincerely,

S. H. Barton.

February 9, 1953.

Dear Mr. Barton:

We wish to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of December 16, 1952.

Your remarks on detention camps for Japanese in the United States are of great interest and we would like to publish it in the correspondence section of a forthcoming issue of *Contemporary Issues*. We are also contacting the writer of the Newsletter to which you refer and are asking him, in turn, to reply to your comment. You will also be given a good deal of space to answer him if you find his reply unsatisfactory. We will have no compunction in continuing this discussion over future issues of the magazine until it is reasonably clear that an answer has been provided by all parties involved to the issues presented.

It is a policy of our magazine to discuss — to give readers the unimpaired right to answer views presented in the pages of *Contemporary Issues* and to regard themselves as contributors rather than writers of "Letters to the Editor". We hope you will feel free to correct us as you see fit and look forward to a full discussion of the issues you raise.

Cordially yours,

The Editors.

February 15, 1953.

Gentlemen:

In regard to the question of Japanese internees during the war, you honor me by your offer to allow more space in the Contemporary Press. But the fact is, I have already written what I know, and can add but little, and controversy is a waste of time. I hope your esteemed correspondent, knowing the miserable conditions in the camps, was among those who did something to alleviate them, as many of our own acquaintances did: — they kept track of their friends, and visited them. One particular internee "ran" the camp, and every question, it seemed to us, was referred to "Ask Ted".

Religious, educational, and similar groups maintained regular services with the internees. What they did suffer was loss of liberty.

It is ridiculous and elementary to box people off into good and bad, even though natural human charity prompts us to look on all refugees and the like as *good*, and their masters as *bad*. Actual experience shows this far from being so. Every outbreak of war sets in motion endless injustices — from the battle casualties on. It is no picnic, and the grimmer necessities include incarceration for some. My long, and friendly, association with Japanese on the West Coast quite justify to me — as did the acquaintance with actual facts by intelligent Japanese themselves — the military necessity for the steps taken.

You have my permission to print anything I have written.

Cordially yours,

S. H. Barton.

Reply by Annette Brenner

Contemporary Press,  
545 Fifth Avenue,  
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Barton,

Thank you for your second letter of February 15, and our apologies for not replying sooner.

Permit us to continue the discussion on the treatment of Japanese Americans during the second World War in answer to your statements which contain some misconceptions.

The evacuation of the Japanese-Americans from the West Coast, an unprecedented act in American history, was less important perhaps as an act in itself than as a permanent mark of governmental executive action taken against a minority group. The United States at the time was led by a president who affirmed: "Americanism is not and never was a matter of race or ancestry". No statement could ever have been more flagrantly disaffirmed by an act of policy, the larger consequences of which may be carried by the American people as a whole because of the precedent established by the act itself and by its constitutional sanction.

Enough information is available (and was also at the time) to show that the primary reason given for evacuation and its prime justification after it was accomplished — national security — had no basis in fact. The most important issue in the local demand for evacuation and in the governmental order, was the necessity of preventing Japanese-Americans from taking overt acts against the security of the country. In order to prove the

possibility that these people were a sabotage danger, what allegedly happened at Pearl Harbor on 7th December, 1941, was first of all cited extensively. Sensational stories circulated about the alleged "assistance" which the resident Japanese had given to the attacking forces.

Morton Grodzins in his excellent book, *Americans Betrayed* (University of Chicago Press, 1949), a historical and documentary record of the governmental decision on evacuation, has cogently presented much material, such as excerpts of the reports of the Roberts Committee on Pearl Harbor (published 1.25.42) and the Tolan Committee, which either contained no references to sabotage or fifth column, or described in detail activities of Japanese consular agents, "which was interpreted in public discussion as the fifth column at work". The first public denial of such activity was by the chief of police in Honolulu. The Justice Department denied the allegation in a statement by the assistant to the Attorney General, on 4.20.42:

" . . . Relative to the question as to whether there has been any sabotage in Hawaii:

"Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has advised me there was no sabotage committed there prior to December 7, on December 7, or subsequent to that time." (Cited by Grodzins.)

The War Department denied the charges in a statement by Secretary Henry L. Stimson on 3.30.42:

"Reference is made to your letter of March 19, 1942, requesting a statement regarding sabotage activities in Hawaii.

"The War Department has received no information of sabotage committed by Japanese during the attack on Pearl Harbor." (Cited in *Ibid.*)

The irony of these statements is that these two executive departments, particularly the latter, figured most prominently in advocating and implementing the evacuation policy. But that is an aside.

In addition to these statements, eleven eye-witness accounts of what happened at Pearl Harbor on 7th and 8th December, were submitted to the Tolan Committee; all were lengthy and detailed statements by police and civilian defense officials, among whom were two captains of the Honolulu Police Department, one of whom was chief of the espionage bureau, which repudiated every claim of sabotage activities on the part of the Japanese residents, giving direct substantiation to the reports of the Secretary of War, and the chief of the FBI. The Office of War Information subsequently revealed that the only person convicted of signaling the enemy at Hawaii was a German.

All these statements, without authoritative contradiction, clearly proved the non-existence of sabotage and fifth column activities at Pearl Harbor — a major support of the evacuation argument. A second major issue in support of the sabotage, fifth column argument, was a theory of concerted, collective future sabotage: Japanese-Americans had committed no sabotage in the months following Pearl Harbor because at a later and more crucial time they were to be instructed from Tokyo in a mass uprising which was to aid in the invasion of the West Coast. Grodzins has commented well on this argument:

"[It] obviously rested not on facts but on a lack of facts. From the legal point of view it was in direct contravention to a fundamental precept of American law: the assumption that a person is innocent until proven guilty. In time of war this honored maxim may be held in abeyance in the face of suspicious activities. But the argument of concerted action damned Japanese

Americans not for suspicious activities but for complete lack of action. No factual evidence existed whatsoever on which to base conclusions about the 'unnatural' lack of sabotage . . . no proof of it was uncovered in the hundreds of raids made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the days preceding evacuation." (p. 133.)

In the light of the evidence uncovered by them, these "spot" raids, conducted in a manner recalling shades of the NKVD, ought to be examined, since government action supposedly follows FBI "uncovery". A large quantity of "contraband" was collected by agents, the significance of which was explained to some extent by news stories. After a "truckload" of ammunition, rifles, shotguns, and other material was confiscated, it was revealed that they had come from a sporting-goods store owned by a Japanese alien. Another "cache" of ammunition was found in a general-store warehouse. In another case the items were "firecrackers", a "preponderance of flashlights, knives, and other potentially dangerous weapons". Other examples were road maps, ceremonial robes, Red Cross medals, Japanese-American dictionaries, wrestling banners, and Boy Scout signal flags. But the real contradiction to the claim of collective sabotage guilt adduced by both public and military as a result of the FBI raids, was testified to by a memorandum to Roosevelt by the Attorney General Biddle in May, 1942, cited by Grodzins:

"The Attorney General, in this remarkable document revealed that he had not defined contraband 'in precise terms' in order to give law-enforcement officers [!] 'ample power . . . to detain anyone who possessed anything' which might by the broadest definition be considered contraband 'in those particular cases where it was thought desirable to detain such a person'. Procedures evolved on the recommendations of War Department officials had permitted 'searches of all premises in which an alien enemy was present without . . . a search warrant'. . . . The Justice Department was 'frequently aware that this procedure might well be in violation of the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution and certainly violated the historic right to be free of search except by search warrant'. The Attorney General explained: 'I do not regret having made this decision since I feel that every possible step [was] taken to protect this country from the Fifth Column even if necessary at the cost of some of our constitutional rights. I am sorry to say however that searches without warrants conducted on the West Coast were without utility in tracking down Japanese. No Japanese saboteurs were uncovered in this manner and no illegal radiotransmitter was found at all'. Though large numbers of persons were found to be in possession of contraband, (the Attorney General continued) 'almost none' of this group 'could in any way be thought of as dangerous to our internal security' . . . 'Mr. Hoover has informed me that he has seized a total of 2,592 guns of various kinds, 199,000 rounds of ammunition, 1,652 sticks of dynamite, 1,458 radio receivers, 2,014 cameras, 37 motion picture cameras, and numerous other articles. We have not, however, uncovered through this search any dangerous persons that we could not otherwise know about. We have not found among all the sticks of gunpowder any evidence that any of it was to be used in bombs. We have not found a single machine gun nor have we found any gun in any circumstances indicating that it was to be used in a manner helpful to our enemies. . . . (etc.).' (p. 135-6.)

Thus, as Grodzins comments, the main reasons given for the decision of evacuation "were founded on the lie that Japanese-Americans had committed sabotage at Pearl Harbor, the admirable fact (considered most dangerous) that the Japanese on the mainland had indulged in no sabotage up to evacuation, the fruits of sensational raids by the F.B.I. evaluated by the Attorney General as being 'without utility' in uncovering 'any dangerous persons that could not have otherwise been found'".

Other arguments for evacuation were: (1) Threats of vigilantism. An examination of the facts shows a far less intense feeling against the Japanese even in the most rabid days of pre-evacuation, than claimed by its advocates. (2) Japanese proximity to strategic military and manufacturing installations and highways. The Western Defense Command found it more significant that 10 per cent of the Japanese population lived near "strategic" areas than that 90 per cent did not. (3) Racial arguments such as: inscrutability of the Japanese mind, alikeness of Japanese faces, the "Oriental characteristic" carried in the bloodstream; "Once a Jap always a Jap" . . . "They are a dangerous element whether loyal or not" as ventured by General De Witt. The racist and pogromist atmosphere which collected around the evacuation was undisguised. (4) The evacuation should take place *because* the Japanese were not essential to the Pacific Coast economy. While the total number of arguments in favor of evacuation were mobilized under the shibboleth of national defense, the strange result was in many cases completely divorced from the issue of safeguarding the Pacific coast. Thus the first and loudest voices to be raised, and the ones who became the most active proponents of evacuation were the agricultural and business groups. This of course was not accidental. In certain areas of agricultural production the Japanese farmer had made significant inroads. The most essential single item was tomatoes for canning and the Japanese controlled approximately 60 per cent of this crop in California. The Japanese were mostly truck farmers whose products sold in the metropolitan areas of the state. Nevertheless those Japanese holding acreage in the Imperial Valley and the Salinas areas were in direct competition with members of these associations. A case in point is an "honest" statement by the Secretary of the Grower-Shipper Vegetable Association:

"We're charged with wanting to get rid of the Japanese for selfish reasons. We might as well be honest. We do. [!] It's a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the Brown man. They came into this valley to work and they stayed to take over. . . . They undersell the white man in the markets. They can do this because they raise their own labor. . . . If the Japs were removed to-morrow we'd never miss them in two weeks because the white man can take over. . . ." (Quoted by Grodzins, p. 27.)

Thus a real reason for the local demand for evacuation emerges out of the lies of official propaganda on both the local and state levels. It is interesting to observe in the light of this, the economic effect of evacuation on the Japanese themselves. In February, 1942, it was noted in *The Western Grower and Shipper* that "the alien Japanese element are going out of the wholesale produce trade in Los Angeles and many of the larger firms are on the market for a few cents on the dollar". A large majority of the land owned before the war was irretrievably lost, and indeed the passage of the Evacuation Claims Act three years after the war proved to be "an insulting farce" as one writer has commented (see *Contemporary Issues* No. 16, November-December, 1953, p. 219), for the Japanese were decisively driven out of the economy of the West Coast.

Among the general citizenry there was almost no realization that the mass evacuation of a minority group was a unique departure from American traditions. But statements of law protectors and officials showed a most cynical consciousness of the meaning of the act. Thus in a speech to the California Joint Immigration Committee, on 7th February, 1942, the then

Attorney General of California (now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court) Earl Warren, opined that any political approach to the problem of evacuation was "too cumbersome" and appeals should be made to the army, not to civil authorities. "The military can do what civilian authorities cannot do; the military can evacuate citizens as well as aliens; there is no civil procedure by which courts would permit this to be done."

Thus 113,000 innocent and bewildered people were herded out of their homes and livelihoods into "relocation centers", from which they were dispatched to concentration camps in outlying desert areas, surrounded by barbed wire, watch towers, machine guns, search-lights after dark, twice a day roll-call, military censorship of incoming and outgoing mail, and other severe conditions of concentration camp life under army brutality. The conditions in the camps, from the terrible overcrowding to the poor quality of the food is well known to you, but what is less well known is the fact of the employment of these people in an incipient form of slave labor. In the labor shortage of 1942, 9,000 evacuees for \$8.00 a month, had harvested enough sugar beets to produce 265,000,000 pounds of sugar. Large numbers of men were employed on camouflage-net projects at 4½ cents per hour. As stated in the *Final Report of the Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast*, 1942, U.S.G.P.O., p. 206, "22,000 nets were made in 2,718 man-months of labor. The net saving of the government more than offset the aggregate cost of food for the evacuees". A guayule rubber project established at the beginning of the war for the rooting of cuttings, also became so profitable it was made a permanent establishment for the duration.

Liberals in the country, like Cary McWilliams and Grodzins, whose consciences smart in the knowledge that Executive Order No. 9066, giving the War Department the legal machinery for evacuation, was signed by Roosevelt, feel they must apologise for the late president, and describe him as "naturally preoccupied with more important matters at the time". But responsibility for the evacuation cannot be shifted, for it received too wide a public spotlight across the entire American continent. Besides this, Roosevelt was concerned with just these matters at the time if he was ever concerned with the safety of the West Coast.

It is here that we find the lie on the *federal* level, of the stated reason for evacuation. Presumably again, the reason for the evacuation, justifying any possible evils which it might necessarily create, was the holy law of Military Necessity — i.e., the West Coast might be invaded by the Japanese! This, ludicrous as it may seem in the light of careful analysis and such enlightening material as that presented by Charles Beard and Helen Mears, was completely swallowed hook, line and sinker by the American public. Such evidence as gave the lie to the claim of military necessity was available only in esoteric reports. One such is a statement of a secret meeting on 4th February, 1942, of the Defense Committee, reported in the notes of Senator Holman (quoted by Grodzins, p. 72). Present were Admiral Harold Stark, Chief of Naval Operations, Brigadier General Mark W. Clark, representing the Chief of Staff of the Army, and other military notables. These were called to testify on the adequacy of the Pacific defences. The Senator reported: "Admiral Stark said . . . it would be impossible for the enemy to engage in a sustained attack on the Pacific Coast at the present time. He is of the opinion that sporadic raids are



possible. . . . He emphasized that such raids . . . would have little if any bearing on the course of the war".

One must be obliged to recognize in the face of all the evidence the falseness of the possibility that incarceration was federal and executive fervour in the heat of the moment. One is forced to recognize the similarity in action taken against minority groups in Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia, withal, allowing for the democratic character of the United States, in not carrying out a genocidal policy. But the incipient stages, a would-be incubator camp system reveals itself in the very precedent. But it does not stop there, for the war-time Japanese camps have been unlocked again and are now to accommodate "subversives" (see *New York Times*, 1st January, 1952).

We should very much like to hear from you again.

Sincerely yours,  
Annette Brenner

Rank 5,  
Box 151,  
Porterville,  
California.

February 10th, 1954.

*Contemporary Issues*,  
545 Fifth Avenue,  
New York 17, N.Y.  
Gentlemen:

I must ask your favor in not expecting any satisfactory reply to the answer forwarded by you, from the pen of Miss Annette Brenner. I am sorry not to be able to furnish future material, as I am a farmer, not a writer or controversialist.

My basis for saying what I say about the treatment of Japanese internees during the war is practical, personal experience of the situation at the time, both as a farmer knowing Japanese farmers, and as a visitor, for merely personal, social reasons, to camps during the period in question. I have also had army experience in war, but not that war.

Military and civil administrations make mistakes during wars, and will continue to do so, and to an extent can be pardoned for so doing. Even if they do not, there are sure to be internees, and internees are out of luck. A number of my own relatives, some friends, and acquaintances made since, were in Japanese civilian concentration camps, not as having been residents in Japan, but as being found living on American territory; and even those who survived were definitely out of luck.

The internees (American and Japanese) were closely penned, with barbed wire, searchlights, etc. This is routine, and nothing new.

A large amount of farm land was sold off — at reduced prices. It could not be expected to take a rise under the circumstances, no matter who had been the owners. The Japanese owners (such as are not now back on their own land again) lost heavily. Our friends in the Orient lost everything. One wonders what could have been done to prevent all this; and what was being done at the time to alleviate Japanese sufferings by those who now inveigh against them.

Many of us farmers visited the camps, and continue to have Japanese friends. I must confess I was astonished to hear the gateman on my first visit say that "Ted" (my friend) " — oh, he runs the camp. Anything to do with arrangements, we check with Ted". We saw no pathetic sights. Japanese home living was so crowded that many found more spacious quarters in the camps. I have not heard, until the present controversy, any lingering resentments from the camps. Even the American internees in Japan (and Dutch in Java, whom we know) have forgotten about it and are getting on with their lives; and I see little good in reopening an old wound now, when we have fields to plant, and cows to feed, and other needed work to do in the world.

Justice is one thing; and war emergencies are another; and war is the great big injustice that tramples on everything else, and will continue to do so in future. And the actions of military men in the field, and civilian examination of them years later, are also things which have little to do with each other.

Let us hope that none of these contingencies will again afflict us or anyone else if we can possibly help it; and if they should come about, let us do what we can in a practical way to lighten the lot of sufferers.

In the meantime, surely the world is crying out for, and showing some signs of receiving, constructive work in building goodwill among people, however much grimness there admittedly is left. So I feel, like Mark Twain, that people should stop complaining so much about the weather and *do* something about it.

I stand to acknowledge Miss Brenner's courtesy in giving my letter much time by way of answer, and am sorry not to be able to rejoin on her own level of ability and in knowledge of affairs. My thanks just the same.

I beg to remain,

Yours sincerely,

S. H. Barton.

#### 4. ON TOGOLAND AND THE GOLD COAST

15th August, 1954.

Dear Sirs,

Thank you for sending me the pamphlet, "‘Most Secret’ Politics in Togoland". I have read it with interest — and with reservations.

My impression is that your pamphlet does little to clarify an already complicated picture. Nor does it give any convincing evidence to back up your subtitle — "The British Government's Attempt to Annex Togoland to the Gold Coast". The fact that it may be from "the pen of a British colonial agent" (unnamed) means nothing, since many such are in the employ of the Gold Coast Government and could be expressing the desires of that group rather than that of the British Government. Nor do you present any argument as to why it would be to the advantage of the British Government to "annex" Togoland to the Gold Coast rather than to keep it under direct British control. Even if Mr. Nkrumah is a British "puppet" (which I think is an extreme distortion of the situation), there are enough anti-British elements in the Gold Coast so that when independence

comes, British control is bound to be on the ebb there, and an integrated Togoland far less accessible to "imperialist" British desires.

In fact, only a very naïve person indeed could read your pamphlet and not immediately see that it is a transparent piece of special pleading by a political enemy of Mr. Nkrumah. The "smear" phraseology of Mr. Ecker's introduction is only too familiar to us nowadays, whether we find it in the pronouncements of the McCarthyites or the Communists (Stalinist variety). On this basis alone, any thinking person would tend to reject the pamphlet *in toto*. I regret this, because I believe there are real issues difficult for us in America to grasp, and Messrs. Antor and Ewe may indeed have a good case to urge on the UN and on world opinion. I myself am by no means convinced of the desirability of integration of Togoland with the Gold Coast. But I think the decision will have to be made on the basis of a compromise recognizing the interests of those who are for it as well as those who are against it. The question of the economic self-sufficiency of Togoland is also a crucial issue, and your pamphlet only touches on this. In spite of the fact that the Gold Coast Government takes more out of Togoland than it puts in (just as the U.S. Government undoubtedly takes more out of New York City than it puts back), an independent Togoland will certainly be in a much weaker position economically than if it were integrated with the Gold Coast, and will probably have to turn to foreign investors for substantial assistance. One may then merely see an exchange of political imperialism British style for economic imperialism American style. The experience of Liberia and the Firestone Rubber Company is a case in point.

D.P.

New York, N.Y.

#### A Lesson in Objectivity — Reply to D.P.

D.P., in sharp contrast to the author of "Most Secret Politics in Togoland", is at great pains to don the cloak of objectivity, impartiality and restraint in dealing with political problems. No partisan or "special pleader" he.

Objectivity is a goal properly sighted (and easily obtained) in the world of physical science. It is a highly overrated, illusory and, in the last analysis, impossible quality in the world of political science, for the simple reason that the observer is inside, not outside, the framework of analysis. But if the author of "Most Secret Politics" makes no pretence of a spurious impartiality, he at least is prepared to offer a few facts in behalf of his analysis, together with a modicum of straight thinking. The reader, then, may be freely aware of the author's role as prosecuting attorney; it only remains for him to decide whether the prosecution is justified and the defendant guilty.

Right off, D.P. is not so "naïve" as to be fooled: The pamphlet is "a transparent piece of special pleading by a political enemy of Mr. Nkrumah". I have no disposition to argue about "special pleading", but the charge that it is made by a "political enemy of Mr. Nkrumah" is worth a glance. It is not clear to whom D.P. is referring. It can hardly be to

Mr. Antor (or to "Mr. Ewe", a gentleman about whom we will have more to say later), for D.P. admits that "they indeed may have a good case to urge on the UN and world opinion", in which case special pleading would hardly be a pointed charge. Therefore, it must be Mr. Ecker who is the culprit. The trouble is, Mr. Ecker lives 5,000 miles away from Mr. Nkrumah in New York City, has never been in Togoland or the Gold Coast, has not the remotest connection with any of the Gold Coast political parties and therefore has not the slightest reason to be a "political enemy" of Mr. Nkrumah except on the grounds which are the field of contention: That Mr. Nkrumah is an unprincipled politician who has lent himself to a continuing effort to deprive a people of their independence.

D.P. calls for evidence, but his attitude when it is presented is far closer to that of a lawyer for the defense than of a judge. Thus, the fact that the "Most Secret" document detailing plans to bribe Togoland political leaders into accepting integration with the Gold Coast (a truly remarkable document about which D.P. is even more remarkably silent) was penned by a British colonial agent "means nothing" to D.P. — the tail, he contends, may have been wagging the dog. Now, the Gold Coast is still a British colony, and though D.P. speaks of "when independence comes" as if it were the rising of the sun, independence is as yet nothing but a promise, and one in which fulfilment has already been delayed, at that. D.P. is presumably ready to concede that documents written by Russians "in the employ of" the Polish government reflect the opinion of Warsaw and not of Moscow.

The fact is that the "Most Secret" document was written, not by an assistant filing clerk in the Gold Coast government printing office but by a British colonial appointee. This is more than a presumption; it is based on positive information, but let it be admitted immediately that, since the document was naturally unsigned, it cannot be proved. Therefore, it is not offered as "evidence", nor was it, in the pamphlet in question. The charge was presented nevertheless, in the optimistic hope of drawing a denial that would really make it possible to explore the question. But if the contention that it is the British government that is behind the attempt to annex Togoland to the Gold Coast stood on nothing firmer than Ecker's unsupported charge, then even I would be signing D.P.'s letter of protest.

In reality, if D.P. had read the "Most Secret" pamphlet with more attention and less "reservations", he would have found evidence to satisfy even the most judicial palate. D.P. does not refute this evidence; he ignores it.

The complicity of London in the "Most Secret" document is apparent throughout in its manner of referring to the rôle the British government is to play in the contemplated play-acting before the UN. On p. 11 of the pamphlet, the author tells how, if the UN was not satisfied with a planned "bombardment" of petitions calling for integration, "a special visiting mission to determine the wishes of the people would be acceptable and might be proposed by the petitioners (*but not by His Majesty's Government or the Gold Coast Government*)". On the next page, in the same vein, the author discusses what would happen following the mission's visit: "H.M. Government would then be able to lay before the summer session of 1954 (July) of the Trusteeship Council a formal request for the

abrogation of the Trusteeship Agreement." At another point (p. 9), the document speaks of how "H.M. Government would have to make proposals for the future administration of the territory [Togoland] and show conclusively to UNO that these proposals were 'appropriate to the particular circumstances' of the territory and its peoples and to the 'freely expressed wishes of the people concerned'."

It is noteworthy that while the secret document is full of detailed proposals on how antagonistic Togolandese are to be bribed and cajoled to accept the plan, there is not a single indication that the agreement of Downing Street is anything but a foregone conclusion, despite D.P.'s wonderment as to "why it would be to the advantage of the British Government to 'annex' Togoland to the Gold Coast rather than to keep it under direct British control".

Whose estimate of the situation proved right — D.P.'s or the document's author? D.P. had the advantage of writing after the fact, but the anonymous penman's foresight proved better than D.P.'s hindsight.

Of course, this foresight was not exactly miraculous. The British government had already ignored a UN directive to establish a Joint Togoland Council that would discuss the formation of a unified Togoland separate from both the Gold Coast and French Dahomey. The speech of Mr. Antor before the United Nations Committee ("Mr. Ewe" was unfortunately absent) is replete with instances in which British representatives associated themselves with the position that Togoland and the Gold Coast must be unified. Purely in passing, Mr. Antor refers (on p. 21) to "the usual plea of the United Kingdom representative [in the UN] that Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship is not economically self-supporting". Did D.P. read the pamphlet he is criticizing while hanging from a subway strap?

On p. 22 is printed a telegram, from some purported Togoland leaders, in which the UN is asked to approve integration. On the next page Mr. Antor's reply discloses at the very start that the telegram was circulated in the UN committee by "the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom". This was the most natural thing in the world, because when the matter came up before the Trusteeship Council, the British government, no doubt in blissful ignorance of its own interests in the matter, proposed an amendment which would have left the door open for integration. When the amendment was voted down, the United Kingdom representative, together with the French delegate, voted against the resolution, which called for establishment of the Joint Togoland Council, the body England and France had failed to set up on prior instructions from the UN. There can be no more significant fact than that this latest mandate to establish the council, which the UN resolution views as the first step in self-determination for Togoland, has now been ignored for the second time by both London and Paris.

Indeed, the British government has made not the slightest attempt to conceal its identification with the Gold Coast government, Nkrumah and its Convention Peoples' Party. When a *New York Times* dispatch of 17th June, 1954, reported results of elections to the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly from Togoland as a defeat for the CPP, a British embassy official went to the extraordinary length of writing a letter of "correction" which

attempted to paint the election as a victory for Nkrumah's party. The reason for this puzzling concern over a newspaper report on a Gold Coast election that was presumably a domestic affair soon become apparent when England proposed integration of Togoland with the Gold Coast to the UN in the light of pro-integration sentiment supposed to have been shown by the election results. (That these results proved just the opposite is a point we shall reserve for another time.)

In view of all this, it is apparent, from D.P.'s standpoint, that the British government is completely unaware that its best interests lie not in Nkrumah's Gold Coast government, which wants to annex Togoland, but with Antor's Joint Togoland Congress, which is for independence. A pity that no one has taken the pains to enlighten it!

Come to think of it, a good deal of enlightenment might be required. As it happens, the political-economic considerations that lie behind London's stand are weighty enough. Most of them are set forth in the "Most Secret" pamphlet, which D.P. has read with such "interest". For one thing, UN trusteeship regulations forbid the mining of extensive uranium and bauxite deposits which have been discovered in the trust territory (p. 6 of the pamphlet, part of the introduction in which D.P. has been able to find nothing but "smear phraseology"). Equally important is the fact that trusteeship cannot be a permanent status for Togoland. It is no coincidence that France is pressing the absorption of French Togoland by Dahomey at the same time as Britain is pushing integration with the Gold Coast. The achievement of this goal would "settle" the Togoland question once and for all, as far as the UN is concerned, removing it from the spotlight as a political problem. In practice, Togoland has been administered as part of the Gold Coast, and this is the most convenient method of handling the problem, both administratively and, more important, politically. Elections in a British-ruled Togoland separate from the Gold Coast would return a majority for Antor's party, with its unceasing demand for independence. As part of the Gold Coast, however, Togoland districts would continue to be gerrymandered with areas of the Gold Coast, giving the CPP a majority.

D.P. may regard as a "smear" the characterization of Nkrumah as a "puppet" (the term is D.P.'s, not Ecker's), but London has shown no misgivings. Its conduct on the Togoland issue has made it clear that Britain is perfectly content to put its interests there in the hands of Nkrumah. It has acted as one with the Gold Coast government at every step of the way, acting as if that government were its own — as indeed it is. D.P. speaks blithely of complete independence for the Gold Coast as if it were already a practical reality. As yet it is but a promise; the reality is a colony that is no more self-governing than British Guiana in the days before October, 1953. The significance of what occurred in Guiana cannot have been lost on Nkrumah: Britain made it abundantly clear that what the Crown hath given, the Crown may take away. The Gold Coast, like Guiana, operates under the shadow of a veto power possessed by the British-appointed governor. Nkrumah's position remains secure precisely so long as he remains within the boundaries laid down by the Colonial Office. This, pure and simple, is the consideration that conditions his political attitude, and all the "anti-British elements" within the Gold Coast don't



amount to a cup of cocoa as long as they are corralled behind Nkrumah.

The peculiar virtue of D.P.'s "objectivity" becomes apparent when he declares that despite the fact he is "by no means convinced of the desirability of integration of Togoland with the Gold Coast", he is ready to concede that it may be necessary to have "a compromise recognizing the interests of those who are for it as well as those who are against". Splendid! D.P. is also presumably in favor of "compromise" between those who are for the "integration" of Poland and Russia and those who are against. Or between himself and the bandit who is about to cut his throat. Why, dear D.P., should the future of Togoland be decided by a "compromise" or any other means except consulting the sentiments of the Togolandese? Is there anyone else with a proper concern?

Togoland's economic plight in the event of independence is another of D.P.'s worries. Its economic difficulties *now*, with the Gold Coast taking out "much more revenue from Togoland than is being spent on the territory" (c.f. "Most Secret" document) gives him no grey hairs at all, at least no more than he gets on contemplating New York City, a colony, it seems of Washington. Somehow, it is impossible to escape the feeling that the analogy falls short *somewhere*. In any case, we can put off consideration of the New York colonial problem to another occasion and confine ourselves to Togoland, which D.P. is convinced will be in "a much weaker position" if its umbilical cord to the Gold Coast is severed. The only trouble is that the direction of flow through this cord is from the child to the mother; why parturition under this circumstance should be to Togoland's disadvantage is an explanation patiently awaited. There is nothing, of course, to prevent an economic union of the two countries should this be the freely expressed desire of the two peoples following independence. On the other hand, there is nothing in the inherent situation of Togoland to require American investment and consequent exploitation; on the contrary, it is precisely through integration with the Gold Coast and the consequent removal of restrictions on extractive industry that American capital hopes to enter to exploit the territory's mineral deposits. Togoland, little touched by imperialism and with an economy almost purely agricultural, is one of those African countries uniquely able to avoid the mainstream of capitalist development with its exploitation of colonial slaves. The fabric of its age-old institutions in most respects is still whole; its people can continue their tribal mode of life, passing only gradually and painlessly to a higher level as the resources of a world overflowing with potential abundance become available to it. Internally, Togoland can almost completely eschew capitalist relations, even while selling its principal product, cocoa, on an external capitalist world market. This partial dependence on the international market, to be sure, opens the possibility of economic pressure from the imperialist centers. It is not a possibility to be lightly dismissed, but even such an eventuality would find the Togoland economy in a better position than it is now, with a British-Gold Coast controlled marketing board buying cocoa from Togolandese at £3 12s. and selling it for £7 10s. 6d. Colonies "turned loose" to political independence are prone, as long as imperialism exists, to economic domination, but this is as poor an excuse for colonial subjection as the danger of overeating is for starvation.

\*

This reply has been lengthy and exhaustive. Perhaps it entitles the author to ask D.P.: The next time, before you characterize a literary effort as a "smear" reminiscent of McCarthyism and Stalinism, please at least do yourself the service of reading more than every third word. It may not spare us criticism, but at least it will avoid you the embarrassment of such creations as "Mr. Ewe", who, it is time at last to reveal, has as much corporeal reality as Mr. Togoland, Mr. Gold Coast and Mr. United Kingdom. Ewe, as the "Most Secret" pamphlet blares forth in large, bold-face type on at least four pages and in ordinary-sized letters on numerous others, is the name of an ethnic group living in the trust territory. It can urge its case, alas, only metaphorically.

Mercy dictates it is time to ring down the curtain.

PAUL ECKER.

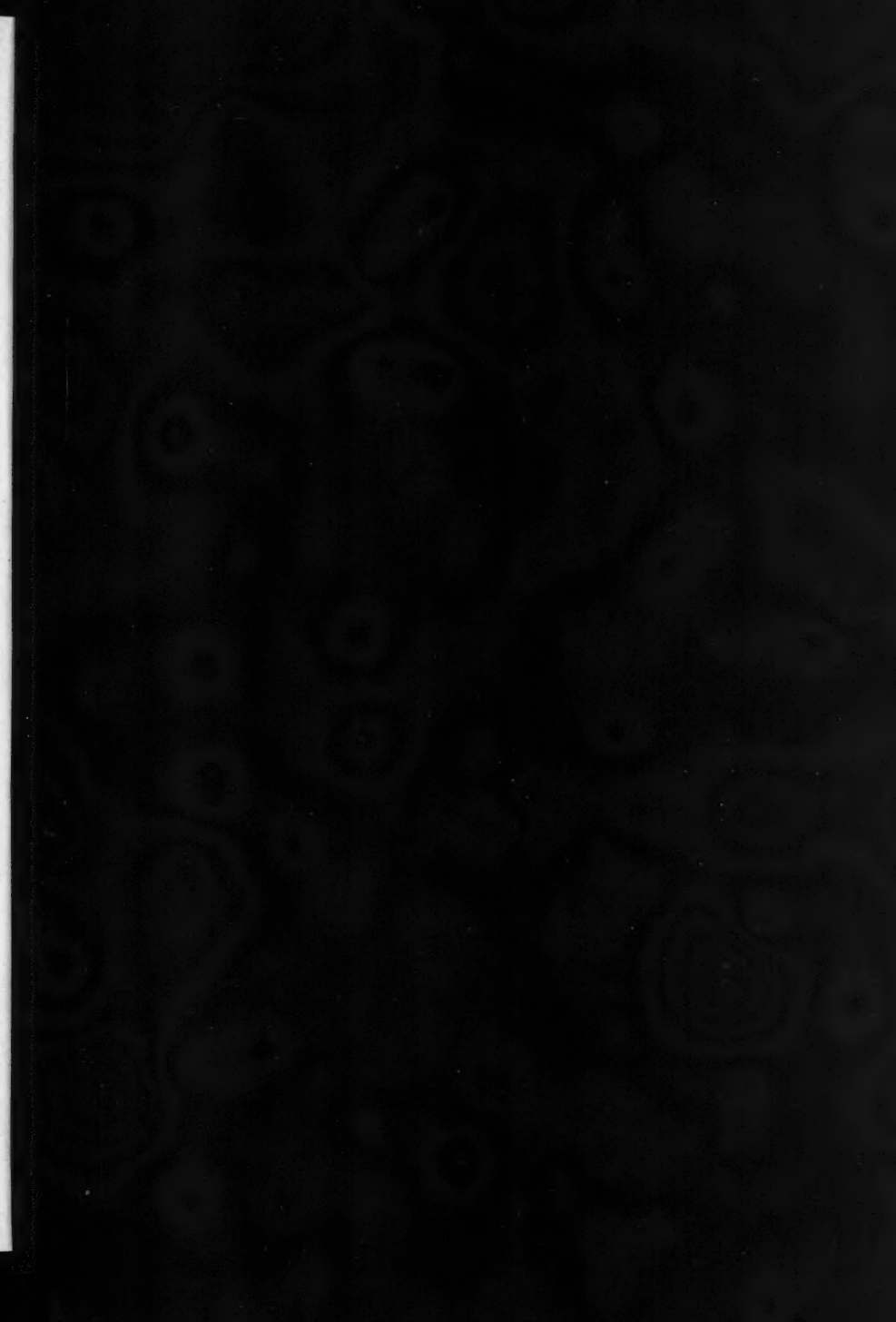
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### The Changing 'Times'

"... There is special significance in the words of advice to his soldiers, uttered by the Emperor in his address on Thursday: 'Be cunning — face the enemy one by one, two by two, five by five in the fields and mountains — Do not mass as now; hide, strike suddenly, fight the nomad war. . . . Today the war has begun, therefore scatter and advance to victory'. This advice undoubtedly represents the wisest course for the Ethiopian forces to pursue.

"... The best hope of successful resistance to an army equipped with modern weapons lies in playing the guerilla game steadfastly from the outset." (*The Times* military correspondent (5/10/35) on Abyssinia.)

"The idea that the Kikuyu were 'unwarlike' is obviously not true. . . . First, they were contrasted in the minds of the early settlers with their neighbours, the Masai, who happened to be one of the great warrior tribes; secondly, almost all writers on the Kikuyu agree that they are wily, suspicious, and deceitful. Then, as now, their mentality was that of the guerilla. They preferred the tip-and-run rather than the standing battle, to strike at the weak rather than the strong." (*The Times* colonial correspondent (1/3/54) on Mau Mau.)





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